

Old
Pittsburgh Days

T. J. Chapman

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OLD PITTSBURGH DAYS

By

T. J. CHAPMAN

*Author of "The Valley of the Conemaugh,"
"The French in the Allegheny
Valley," etc.*



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PREFACE

THERE is no foot of American soil richer in historical incident than the point of land at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. Here began that struggle between France and England which was destined to involve many nations in its course, to endure through two generations, and cover with its ravages the face of the civilized world. About the rude fortification at the head of the Ohio cluster a score of names illustrious on the page of history. The later annals of this spot are scarcely less interesting.

In the following pages we have attempted an outline of the story of Pittsburgh. Within the compass of a single small volume it has been impossible to relate all the details of that story; but we have tried to preserve the thread of the narrative and to embody the more striking events. We have not aimed to make a book of Indian stories. We have not aimed to make a book of industrial and social statistics. What we have aimed to do has been to present a sketch of the origin and early development of our city that should be correct as to matters of fact and as attractive as possible. We trust the reader will find entertainment and profit in contemplating the old days of Pittsburgh.

T. J. C.



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OLD PITTSBURGH DAYS

CHAPTER I

RIVAL CLAIMS

WHO was the first white man to set his foot upon the site of Pittsburgh it is, of course, impossible to say. Indian traders at an early period made their way through the devious paths of the forest, carrying with them such articles as were most in requisition by the savages, and returning with heavy packages of valuable skins and furs. Among these traders were a few honorable men; but generally they were men of no principle, whose influence among the Indians was only evil.

It was not until about the middle of the eighteenth century that the region of country about the headwaters of the Ohio comes into distinct view. Two claimants then appear upon the scene. The French, who had formed settlements in Canada and Louisiana, laid claim to the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys by right of the explorations of La Salle, and now they proposed to assert their claim by establishing a series of military posts that would connect their remote settlements together. The effect of this course would be to confine

the English to the comparatively narrow strip of country occupied by them along the Atlantic coast.

About the same time the English began to cast their eyes in this direction. By the charters of 1607 and 1609 was granted to the London Company, all the territory lying between a point two hundred miles north and one two hundred miles south of Point Comfort, having thus a frontage of four hundred miles on the ocean, and extending "up into the land" throughout from sea to sea." The boundary-line between Virginia and the western part of Pennsylvania had not been conclusively determined, and the Virginians laid claim to the region drained by the head-waters of the Ohio. It was a vast and unknown domain, inhabited by the bear, the elk, and the wolf, and the red man, scarcely less wild than they. In the year 1716, Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, a man of chivalric character, organized an expedition whose object was to visit the shadowy realm beyond the Blue Ridge. His expedition, however, advanced only as far as to the Shenandoah, which they named the Euphrates.* From the summit of the mountains they looked upon the landscape. "Not a white man," says Dr. Caruthers, "had ever trod that virgin soil from the beginning of the world. What a solemn and sublime temple of nature was there! And who could look upon it, as it spread far out to the east and west until it was lost in the dim and hazy horizon, and not feel deeply impressed with the majesty of its Author?"† With suitable ceremo-

* John Esten Cooke's "Virginia," p. 314.

† "The Knights of the Horseshoe," chapter liii.

nies Governor Spotswood assumed possession of this fair country in the name of King George the First, and then returned to Williamsburg. In commemoration of this enterprise was founded the old Virginian order of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe.

In the year 1748 a number of enterprising gentlemen, mainly Virginians, organized what was termed the Ohio Company, whose chief object was to divert as far as possible the fur-trade to Virginia. In furtherance of their objects they procured from the king a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land west of the mountains, to be taken chiefly on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and the Kanawha Rivers; and it was stipulated in the charter that the Company should, within seven years, seat one hundred families on the land, build a fort, and maintain a garrison to protect the settlement.*

In the struggle for possession, which was fast coming on, the French, while greatly in the minority in the country, were much more prompt and active in asserting themselves than the English. In the summer of 1749, M. Celoron was despatched to take formal possession of the Ohio Valley. At that time the Allegheny River was regarded as the upper Ohio, and was called indifferently the Ohio, Allegheny, and La Belle Rivière, or the Beautiful River. Celoron was a chevalier of St. Louis and a captain in the colony troops. He had upon the present service a detachment consisting of one captain, M. de Contreccœur, second in command; a chaplain, Father Bonnecamp, a Jesuit priest; eight subal-

* "The Monongahela of Old." By James Veech. P. 41.

tern officers, six cadets, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and about thirty Indians. They left La Chine, near Montreal, on the 15th day of June, in a flotilla of twenty-three canoes. They pushed their way laboriously up the St. Lawrence, entered Lake Ontario, and skirting the northern shore, they reached Niagara on the 6th of July. Here they were obliged to shoulder their canoes and luggage and carry them through the forest to Lake Erie above the falls. Re-embarking, they paddled along the southern shore until they reached the mouth of Chautauqua Creek. The creek was not navigable and they were forced to carry their outfit to the head of Lake Chautauqua, a distance of eight or nine miles. Passing down this beautiful sheet of water whose name is now world-famous, they entered Conewango Creek, and at noon on the 29th of July, after a most arduous voyage of five days, their canoes floated out into the broader current of the Allegheny. Rowing across to the southern side of the river, Celoron here nailed up on a tree a tin plate bearing the arms of the King of France, and buried at the foot of a red oak a plate of lead bearing an inscription which set forth that he had thereby taken renewed possession of the river Ohio "and of all those which fall into it, and of all the territories on both sides as far as the source of the said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have possessed or should possess them." Again, on the 3d of August, at a point eight miles below the mouth of French Creek, "opposite a naked mountain, and near an immense stone upon which certain figures are rudely carved," he nailed a plate of tin bearing the

king's arms to a tree, and buried a leaden plate similar to the one he had buried on the shore opposite the mouth of the Conewango. The immense stone, now known as "the Indian god," still lying on the left bank of the Allegheny, sufficiently marks the site of Celoron's encampment. These two were the only plates he buried in the Allegheny Valley. The sheets of tin were soon torn down by the natives; neither of the leaden plates has ever been found.

Celoron desired to meet the natives in their villages as he passed down the river. To this end he sent forward an officer, a very capable man named Chabert de Joncaire, a half-breed whose father had been a French officer, to reassure the Indians and invite them to meet Celoron; but they were suspicious and generally fled to the woods upon the approach of the canoes. Such as stood their ground Celoron endeavored to win over to the French interest. At several points he found parties of English traders, one consisting of six men with fifty horses and one hundred and fifty bales of furs, at Chartier's town, an old Shawanese village which stood near the site of the present town of Tarentum. These men he ordered to withdraw from the territories claimed by the French, and by them sent a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania. This letter is still among the archives of the State. In it Celoron expresses his surprise to find some English merchants in a country to which England never had any pretensions. He had treated them, he said, with mildness, though he had a right to regard them as "intruders and mere vagrants." Another party of six traders he

found at a village within the limits of the present city of Pittsburgh, ruled by an old Iroquois woman, who, he says, "looks upon herself as queen." Here is perhaps the first distinct reference to the site of Pittsburgh on record. The village was called Shannopin's town. It lay on the bank of the Allegheny, in what is now the Twelfth Ward of Pittsburgh, and near the foot of Thirty-second Street. Shannopin was the name of the chief who had lived here. He died not long before the visit of Celoron. The old Iroquois woman referred to was the famous Queen Aliquippa. The queen and her subjects had all fled.

Celoron calls the place "Written Rock." This name was no doubt conferred on it by himself, and found its origin in the fact that at a short distance below, his Indians, in passing, saw certain writings on a rock by the river. The place was what is now known as McKee's Rocks. This circumstance seemed so important that he despatched the chaplain and Joncaire to examine the writings. They did so, and reported that "they were nothing more than some English names written with charcoal."

From Shannopin's Celoron passed on down to Logstown, or Chiningue as he calls it, an important Indian town on the right bank of the Ohio, about where Sewickley now stands. The Indians at Logstown were generally favorable to the English. Only the year before this Conrad Weiser, the agent for Pennsylvania, had held a council here with the chiefs of a number of tribes and had distributed valuable presents among them. But now, upon the approach of this

large body of Frenchmen, it was thought best to dissemble. When Celoron came in sight of the town he beheld three French flags flying and only one English. As the fleet of canoes drew in to the landing the natives fired a salute of musket-balls. This surprised and somewhat alarmed Celoron, who had "no confidence in their good intentions," and he ordered them to stop it, or he would open fire upon them. He ordered the English flag to be taken down, which was promptly done. He surrounded his camp with guards, not feeling quite at ease among them. A large body of warriors came to the town, and appearances were sometimes very threatening. But evidently the savages were afraid to attack so strong a force, and all warlike demonstrations gave way to presents and mutual palaver. Early in the morning of the 12th of August Celoron and his men resumed their canoes and so passed on down the Ohio and beyond the purview of our story.*

Only twelve months after Celoron had returned to Montreal quite a different adventurer was threading his way through the Ohio Valley. This new-comer was Christopher Gist. He was now in the service of the Ohio Company, and his present duty was to explore the country that had been granted by the king. He was instructed to proceed westward of the great mountains with whatever number of men he should think necessary, "to search out and discover the lands upon the river Ohio and other adjoining branches of the

* An English translation of Celoron's Journal has been published by the Rev. A. A. Lambing, LL.D.

Mississippi down as low as the great falls thereof," to observe particularly the ways and passes through the mountains, to take an exact account of the soil, quality and product of the land, the character of the rivers, the Indian tribes that inhabited the region, etc., "that the Company may the better judge where it will be most convenient for them to take their land." Gist, who is believed to have been an Englishman by birth, was at this time living on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. What had been in his previous career to recommend him to this service we do not know; but certain it is the duty could not have fallen into more capable or faithful hands. During the border troubles of the succeeding half-dozen years Gist bore a conspicuous part, and in every position acted with credit to himself and advantage to the service.

Gist set out on this expedition October 31, 1750. November 14 he arrived at Loyalhanna, "an old Indian town on a creek of the Ohio called Kiscominitas." This town stood where Ligonier now stands. It is a historic spot. The Indian chief at Loyalhanna could speak English, and he directed Gist to Shannopin's town, on the Allegheny. He reached Shannopin's on the 19th and remained until the 23d of the month. There were then about twenty families in the town. He says nothing about Queen Aliquippa. During his stay here he no doubt visited the localities in the neighborhood, the point at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, and the bluff at the mouth of Chartier's Creek. He says nothing about it, however, in his journal.

Leaving Shannopin's, he crossed the Allegheny and proceeded down the river. The path to Logstown was along the line of East and West Ohio Streets to Beaver Avenue, in Allegheny, and then along the river-bank. This was the path pursued by Gist. At Logstown he "found scarce anybody but a parcel of reprobate Indian traders," the Indian chiefs being out hunting. He remained over Sunday at Logstown, but left bright and early Monday morning. "I preferred the woods," he says, "to such company." Gist traversed a great part of the present State of Ohio. At Muskingum he fell in with George Croghan, a man prominent in his day, who was here now as the agent of Pennsylvania to brighten the chain of friendship with the Indians. With Croghan was the French-Indian interpreter Andrew Montour. Croghan, Gist, and Montour went together to White Woman's Creek, a branch of the Tuscarawas, to visit Mary Harris, who lived there. She had been captured when a little child at the massacre of Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1704, and had now been living nearly fifty years among the savages, "finding such comfort as she might," says Parkman, "in an Indian husband and a family of young half-breeds." Poor woman! she remembered her early childhood. The people of New England, she said, used to be very religious, and she wondered how white men could be so wicked as she had seen them in the woods.

Gist was absent on this tour about seven months. He returned through what is now the State of West Virginia, reaching his home on the Yadkin in May,

1751, only to find his family all absent; for the Indians had killed five people in the winter near his place, which frightened his wife and family "away to Roanoke," about thirty-five miles nearer the more settled parts of the country.*

Meanwhile, the French had not been indifferent. They were far from being satisfied with a mere constructive ownership of the Ohio Valley. La Galissoniere had been recalled to France, and a few years later he appears as commander of the French fleet at the siege of Minorca, one incident of which was the execution of the unfortunate Admiral Byng. The Marquis de la Jonquiere had been appointed his immediate successor in the governorship of Canada; but he was an old man, and his administration was brief and not marked by any great enterprise. He died in March, 1752, and was succeeded by the Marquis Duquesne. The new governor began his administration with vigor. He at once set about taking actual possession of the Ohio Valley, by establishing a line of military posts along the watercourse. If they had been allowed to complete this, French domination in North America would have been assured. "Thus by forming a line of forts," says a writer of that period, "in some measure parallel to the coast, they inclose us between their garrisons and the sea, and not only hinder our extension westward, but, whenever they have a sufficient navy in the sea, can harass us on each side, as they can invade us at pleasure from one or other of

* See "Christopher Gist's Journals, with Notes," etc., by Wm. M. Darlington. J. R. Weldin & Co., Pittsburgh, 1893.

their forts.”* To this end Duquesne, in the early spring of 1753, sent out a force of not less than one thousand men under M. Marin, to occupy the desired region. This force proceeded by way of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes in a large fleet of canoes. The course pursued by Celoron had been so difficult that a less arduous route to the Ohio had been sought and found. Passing the point where Celoron had landed, Marin kept his course until he came to the beautiful bay at Erie,—Presqu’ Isle they called it, the peninsula, from the long encircling arm which the land puts out and gathers the waters of the harbor to its bosom. Duquesne called the harbor “the finest in nature.” Near the shore at Presqu’ Isle they at once built a fort of squared logs, with four bastions. They then opened a road south fifteen miles, to a branch of French Creek, where the town of Waterford, Erie County, now stands. Here they built a somewhat larger fort, which they named Le Bœuf. They desired also to erect a fort at Venango, at the mouth of French Creek. Thus would they have completed the chain in the northwest, and would have fastened a link upon the shore of the Ohio itself. But the Indians at Venango would not consent to this; besides, the French force was sadly wasted by fatigue and illness; and a fort there was not built at that time. Joncaire, a man of singular adroitness, courage, and activity, so far prevailed with the Indians that he was permitted to remain upon the spot with a handful of soldiers. M. Marin had failed in health, and Legardeur de St.

* Dr. Johnson on the “Political State of Great Britain,” 1756.

Pierre, a gallant knight of the Order of St. Louis, was appointed in his place. St. Pierre fixed his quarters at Fort Le Bœuf. The French force, leaving a small garrison at each of the forts they had established, in the month of October returned to Montreal. When the winter of 1753 set in the French flag was flying at Presqu' Isle, Le Bœuf, and on the Allegheny river-bank at Venango.

Rumors of all this were carried from time to time by the traders to Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia. He was a hard-headed old Scotchman, exceedingly jealous for the rights of those whom he represented. He took the alarm and wrote a message to the French commandant, insisting upon the claims of the English to the Ohio Valley, and urging the French to withdraw. This message he intrusted to Major George Washington, of the Virginia militia, a youth of only twenty-one years, but who had already given evidence of those high qualities for which he was afterwards so distinguished.

It is with a thrill of interest that we read in Christopher Gist's journal, under date of Wednesday, November 14, 1753, the simple entry: "Came this day to my house in Wills Creek Major George Washington with a letter from the Virginia council requesting me to accompany him to the commandant of the French forts on the Ohio." It was the first step in a great career. Little did Gist dream of the vast personality in the tall youth that stood before him.

Besides Gist, who went as guide, Washington had with him Jacob Vanbraam, a French interpreter;

John Davison, an Indian interpreter; and four hired men or servitors, Barnaby Currin, John McQuire, Henry Steward, and William Jenkins. This Barnaby Currin was an Indian trader, and three years before he had been at Muskingum when Gist was there, and he it was that had besought leave to bury the remains of a poor white woman who had been cruelly murdered there by the Indians for attempting to escape from captivity. With this small retinue Washington on the next day "left the inhabitants" and plunged into the wilderness.

The principal path from the forks of the Ohio eastward was what was called Nemacolin's Path. This had been an Indian trail from a remote period; but in 1748, when the Ohio Company determined to open out a road to the Ohio Valley, Colonel Cresap, of Oldtown, who was put in charge of the work, engaged Nemacolin, a well-known Indian of the Delaware tribe, who resided at the mouth of Dunlap's Creek, to locate and mark the way.* It was by this path that Washington and his party now rode over into the valley of the Ohio. On the 22d of the month of November they reached the house of John Frazier, at the mouth of Turtle Creek. This John Frazier was a somewhat noted man on the border. He was a Scotchman, and by trade a blacksmith or gunsmith, as he is described in both characters. In 1749 he was living at the mouth of French Creek; but upon the approach of Celoron he had fled. When Celoron called upon the Indians there to drive away the English, they begged

* Veech's "The Monongahela of Old," p. 26.

that "the blacksmith" might be allowed to remain; otherwise they should have no one to mend their guns, and they would be left to perish. Frazier did not return to Venango. We find him now living at the mouth of Turtle Creek, at a spot shortly afterwards to be made famous. The French took possession of his house at Venango, and Joncaire and his companions installed themselves in it. Gist says that Frazier received Washington and his retinue very kindly, and lent them a skiff to carry their baggage to the forks of the Ohio. This had become necessary, because the streams along the way were now so swollen by the heavy rains as to be quite impassable except by swimming their horses.

The next day the party left Frazier's house. The canoe was put in charge of Currin and Steward; the others set forward with the horses. They were to meet at the forks of the river. The horsemen rode over to Shannopin's town, half a dozen miles away, and then down along the bank of the Allegheny to the mouth of the Monongahela. The horsemen reached the place of rendezvous first, and while they waited for the canoe Washington examined the spot with a view to building a fort there. It had been recommended to the Company to build a fort and lay out a town at McKee's Rocks. Two of Washington's brothers were stockholders in the Ohio Company, and thus he felt interested in its welfare. It was likely the next day when he visited King Shingiss, who was living just below the Rocks, that he viewed the site of the proposed fort and town. In his report to Governor

Dinwiddie he strongly urged the superiority of the forks as a military position. "A fort at the fork," he observed, "would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place." As a consequence of this report the Company decided to abandon their previous design and build at the fork of the Ohio. While Washington was thus occupied the canoe with Currin and Steward was heading down the Monongahela, and they now pulled in to the shore where their comrades were awaiting them. That evening they all crossed the Allegheny and encamped for the night not far from the foot of Monument Hill.

Next day they went on down to Logstown. Here Washington experienced a good deal of delay. Tanacharison, or the Half-King, as he was usually called, a warm friend of the English, whom Washington desired particularly to see, was absent at his hunting-cabin in the woods, quite a distance away. A messenger was sent for him, and about three o'clock of the next day the chief came to town. Washington at once called on him and invited him privately with the interpreter Davison to his tent. The Half-King had made a visit to the French at Le Bœuf to remonstrate against the proceedings of the French in those quarters and their evident designs upon the Ohio region; but he had been received by the commandant, Marin, with great contempt. "You need not put yourself to the

trouble of speaking," said the Frenchman, "for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for Indians are such as those; I tell you that down that river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances; for my force is as the sand upon the sea-shore; therefore, here is your wampum; I sling it at you." The chief had come away filled with indignation and shame.

Washington was very eager to get forward; but it was not until the 30th of the month that the Indians could be got to start. Then but four accompanied him, the three chiefs, the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and an Indian whom Washington calls "the hunter," but who was afterwards famous as Guyasutha. The weather was extremely rough, and the difficulties of the way very great, so that it was the 5th day of December when they arrived at Venango. Here Washington found Joncaire and two subaltern officers in the house of John Frazier. The French flag was floating above the roof. Joncaire received him with great affability, and invited him to supper with him and his fellow-officers. He informed Washington that the commandant was at Le Bœuf, about forty miles distant. He got hold of Washington's Indians, and by his blandishments and the free use of fire-water he almost won them away from their allegiance. Gist says that Joncaire did everything he could to prevail upon the Indians to remain behind, and it was noon

of the 7th before Washington could get them started for Fort Le Bœuf. M. La Force, commissary of the French stores, a very enterprising fellow, and three other soldiers accompanied Washington to Le Bœuf. The roads were exceedingly bad, and they did not get to the fort until the 11th of the month. Washington at once waited upon St. Pierre and presented the letter of Governor Dinwiddie. "St. Pierre and the officer next in rank, who knew a little English," says Parkman, "took it to another room to study it at their ease; and in it, all unconsciously, they read a name destined to stand one of the noblest in the annals of mankind; for it introduced Major George Washington, Adjutant-General of the Virginia militia."*

St. Pierre treated Washington with extreme complaisance; but it was the evening of the 14th of December before he gave him an answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter. He was exceedingly anxious to return to Virginia; but in one way or another St. Pierre kept tempting the Indians and detaining them. Washington complained of this; but the polite Frenchman protested that he was doing nothing to keep them back; on the contrary, he wondered why they did not go away. The cause of the delay was that he had promised them a present of guns, etc., and as the guns were not forthcoming it was impossible for Washington to get the Indians off. He had already sent the horses back to Venango under the charge of Currin and two other men. St. Pierre had provided him with canoes and a plentiful store of liquor, provisions, etc.,

* Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," vol. i. p. 132.

that he might return by water. At last the guns were given to the Indians, and on the 16th of the month Washington and his company set off down the creek. The navigation was difficult and dangerous, and they did not reach Venango until the 22d. Here they found Currin with the horses waiting for them.

The next day Washington resumed his journey. The Indians found a pretext for remaining some time at Venango, and Washington very reluctantly left them there. As the horses were every day becoming less able to travel, the cold increasing, the roads more and more blocked with snow, and Washington impatient to get home and report to the governor, he and Gist surrendered their horses to be used in carrying the baggage; the horses were put in charge of Vanbraam, who was instructed to push for home as fast as possible; and on the 26th Washington and Gist separated from their company and set off afoot the nearest way through the woods for Shannopin's town. The next day, near a place called Murdering Town, about fifteen miles from Logstown, they were fired on by a scoundrelly Indian, but escaped unharmed. They walked all that night and the next day, and about dark of the 28th they got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's town.

They had hoped to find the river frozen over; but it was not, except for a distance of about fifty yards from the shore. The ice was driving furiously down the channel, having, as Washington supposed, broken somewhere above. They had nothing to work with but one poor hatchet, and they spent the whole day of the 29th in making a raft. They finished it just after

sunset. They then launched it and pushed off; but before they were half-way across the raft became jammed among the floating ice. Washington put out his setting-pole to try to stop the raft, but the force of the stream was so violent that he was jerked from the raft out into ten-foot water; but he saved himself by catching hold of the raft. In spite of all their efforts they could not reach either shore; but as they were near an island, they abandoned the raft and made for the island. A more distressing or more discouraging situation one can hardly imagine.

The night was intensely cold. Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen. We have no report that Washington was at all frost-bitten. That he could escape, his clothes soaked with water, through a bitterly cold night, without fire or shelter, seems wonderful. "But the cold did us some service," says Gist; "for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice." The island upon which Washington and Gist passed that night of discomfort is believed to have been what was afterwards known as Wainwright's Island. It lay towards the left bank of the river. It has long since been washed away.

Glad were they to reach the mainland, and they hurried off to the house of their friend Frazier, at the mouth of Turtle Creek. Here Washington remained until the 1st day of January, 1754, waiting for horses with which to continue his journey. The horses he awaited were likely those he had sent forward under Vanbraam. During his stay at Frazier's he went up to the mouth of the Youghiogheny to visit Queen Ali-

quippa. The old lady felt some concern that he had not visited her when on his way to the Ohio. Washington, however, placated her with a small present, a bottle of rum being the chief article, which she received with great satisfaction.

The horses having arrived, on the first day of the new year, a year destined to be forever memorable, Washington set out from Frazier's house, and on the 16th he arrived at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia.

CHAPTER II

THE STRESS OF WAR

THE Virginians lost no time in preparing to meet the emergency. Washington's journal, together with Governor Dinwiddie's letter to the French commandant and a translation of St. Pierre's reply, was immediately printed in a small pamphlet and dispersed through the colony.* It was reprinted in England and copied into the newspapers, and served effectually to open the eyes of the authorities to the real danger of the hour. Dinwiddie appealed to the governors of the various colonies; but only North Carolina made any material answer. St. Pierre's letter was at once transmitted by Dinwiddie to Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, and he in turn laid it before the Assembly, February, 1754, with an earnest request that they would promptly furnish men and means to defend the province; "for you will undoubtedly agree with me," he says, "that so alarming an occasion has not occurred since the settlement of the province, nor any one thing happened that so much deserves your serious attention;"† but that body, instead of taking any steps towards repelling the advances of the French, spent the time in undignified bickerings with the governor.

St. Pierre's letter to Dinwiddie was to the effect that it belonged to the general in Canada, and not to him,

* But three copies of this pamphlet are known to be now in existence. The newspapers report that a short time ago one of these copies was sold in New York for one thousand dollars.

† Franklin's "Historical Review of Pennsylvania."

St. Pierre, to demonstrate his king's rights to the lands situate along the Ohio. As to Dinwiddie's request that he should retire, he stated that he was there by his general's orders, and it was his duty to obey; and that he did not know of anything that had passed during the campaign that could be deemed an act of hostility.

The Virginia House of Burgesses met in the middle of February, and voted the sum of ten thousand pounds to defend the Virginia frontier. Dinwiddie had anticipated the burgesses, and called out two hundred men from the militia, and placed them under the command of Washington and Trent. The latter was already at the forks of the Ohio with a force of forty men for the purpose of building a fort. With the small sum allowed by the burgesses Dinwiddie was doing what he could in the way of putting a force in the field, and the nucleus of a regiment, three hundred men, had been raised and put under Joshua Fry, as colonel, and George Washington, as lieutenant-colonel. In the middle of April Fry was at Alexandria with half the regiment, Washington was pushing on to Wills Creek with the other half, and Captain Trent with his handful of men was at the forks of the Ohio. This was the position of things when, on the 17th of April, in the temporary absence of both Captain Trent and the lieutenant, John Frazier, suddenly a large fleet of canoes and batteaus, conveying, as was believed at the time, one thousand French and Indians, appeared before the eyes of Trent's astonished fort-builders. Their leader, De Contrecoeur, who had succeeded St. Pierre in the command on the river, instantly sent in an order for

surrender. Ensign Ward, who had been left in charge of the company, pleaded for delay until he could confer with his superiors; but no delay would be granted; the order was peremptory; and, though the number of the new-comers was not nearly so large as at first reported, they were still nearly as twenty as to one, and the ensign had simply to submit. He was allowed to retire with his men and effects; and he stood not long on the order of his going, but withdrew at once. He hastened to Washington at Wills Creek, to report the disaster. The French seized the coveted spot and immediately set about building a larger and stronger fort, which they named Duquesne, in honor of the governor-general of Canada.

Washington reached Wills Creek on the 20th of April, and there, five days later, Ensign Ward came in with his untoward report. Upon this Washington changed his purpose, and instead of proceeding directly to the forks of the Ohio, he turned his course towards the Monongahela at the mouth of the Redstone Creek, where the Ohio Company had built a storehouse. While laboriously clearing a road to that point, on the 27th of May, in the evening, an Indian runner from the camp of the Half-King, not far away, came in to tell Washington that a party of Frenchmen were hidden in a dark ravine in the neighborhood. Washington at once determined to investigate. Taking forty men with him he set out. He found the Frenchmen, as reported, in a dark glen. They at once seized their arms upon the approach of the English, and Washington commanded his men to fire. The battle

was very brief, but decisive. M. Jumonville, the officer in command, and nine of his men were killed; twenty-two were taken prisoners, and one, a Canadian, made his escape and ran back to Fort Duquesne. Washington had one man killed and several wounded. Among the French prisoners was M. La Force, the commissary who, the winter before, had accompanied Washington from Venango to Fort Le Bœuf. "This obscure skirmish," says Parkman, "began the war that set the world on fire."

Washington now fully expected to be attacked in greater force by the French. He fell back to an open glade called the Great Meadows, about four miles west of the Laurel Hill. On the 31st of May, Colonel Fry died suddenly at Wills Creek, when on his way to join Washington, and the chief command devolved upon the latter. He had received some accessions to his force, and now had with him about four hundred men. Washington decided that the Great Meadows furnished "a charming field for an encounter;" and under the direction of the gallant Captain Stobo a fortification was made here and named Fort Necessity.

About noon of the 3d of July the expected enemy put in his appearance. They were about nine hundred strong, and were commanded by Coulon de Villiers, brother of the slain Jumonville. The enemy at once opened fire upon the fort from the edge of the surrounding forest. The Virginians were almost without ammunition or provisions. They were in no condition to stand a siege. Washington at first drew up his men on the open plain, hoping to make a stand-up fight of

it; but Villiers had other views. The trees and bushes almost concealed his men, while their higher position enabled them to fire into the fort. The rain poured down in torrents, and the Virginians were soon standing up to their knees in mud and water. At times the showers were so heavy as almost to put a stop to the conflict, "and the bedrenched combatants," says Parkman, "could do little but gaze at each other through a gray veil of mist and rain." Heavily enough the day and the tedious fight went on until eight o'clock in the evening, when the French proposed a parley. After some hesitation Washington consented to send out a man to confer with the French. This man was Captain Jacob Vanbraam, who had been Washington's French interpreter the year before. Vanbraam returned after some time with certain terms of capitulation which he interpreted, and in one point at least not very successfully, to Washington. The main feature of the capitulation was that the English were to be allowed to retire without molestation, with colors flying, and to take with them everything except their artillery. Two hostages were to be delivered to the French for the safe return of the prisoners taken at the defeat of Jumonville. The hostages were Captain Vanbraam and Captain Stobo. In the battle the enemy were at least double the number of the English. Dinwiddie reports the English losses as thirty killed and seventy wounded, and M. Varin puts the losses of the French as seventy-two killed and wounded.*

* Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," vol. i. p. 159, note.

The next morning, July 4, the English departed eastward, trudging painfully through the mud, burdened with their wounded and luggage, as the Indians had killed all their horses, and weakened by exposure and the want of food. Such was the first campaign of George Washington, and such were the opening scenes in the long and bloody drama that followed.

But as the retiring Virginians pursued their wearisome way towards the east, Stobo and Vanbraam set off with their jubilant enemies for Fort Duquesne. From this hour Vanbraam disappears from the page of history; of his companion, Stobo, we have some further knowledge. In a history of Pittsburgh he deserves a place.

Robert Stobo was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in the year 1727. He was of a very ardent, adventurous spirit; and as a child it is said of him in his Memoirs, that he preferred beating a drum to going to school,—which, by the way, has been a characteristic of many other boys who have never arrived at any kind of distinction. Stobo was brought up to mercantile pursuits. His father died in 1740, and a few years later young Stobo was sent over to Virginia to serve in a store belonging to some merchants of Glasgow. In 1747 he returned to Glasgow, and converting some property which he had there into money, he returned to Virginia, where he set up in trade for himself. Between business and pleasure, both of which he seems to have cultivated with equal ardor, he went along until upon the beginning of the troubles with the French on the border, when he promptly offered his ser-

vices to the cause of Virginia. Being a favorite with his fellow-Scotchman, old Governor Dinwiddie, he was appointed senior captain of the regiment that went forward under Colonel Fry.

But Captain Stobo had his own views as to the best methods of campaigning in the wilderness. He had ten servants, a covered wagon filled with table delicacies, a whole butt of Madeira, and he took care to have his larder duly supplied with game which the woods abundantly afforded, "having some of the best sportsmen of this kind constantly out for this purpose." Thus all went merry as a marriage bell with Stobo until that unhappy morning when he was delivered into the hands of the French, as one of the hostages given by Washington at the capitulation of Fort Necessity.

It was a sad decline for Stobo, from the luxuries of his covered wagon and his butt of Madeira to the short commons of prison life at Fort Duquesne. The author of Stobo's Memoirs attributes the fact of Stobo's being delivered as one of the hostages to jealousy on the part of the other officers; but for the sake of him who afterwards became "first in the hearts of his countrymen," we hope this is not true; though it is difficult to say just why the jovial captain should have been selected as one of the victims.

Anyhow, whatever the motive may have been, the selection could not have fallen upon any man who would have supported the trying position with more gallantry and patriotism. On the 28th of July he found means to send by a faithful Indian named Mono a long letter to the Virginia authorities, with a plan

of the fort, and on the next day, by an Indian called Delaware George, another letter giving additional details as to matters at the French post. This correspondence must have been prepared and conducted at infinite hazard of his life. But Stobo did not flinch upon such a consideration. "When we engaged to serve the country," he wrote, "it was expected we were to do it with our lives. Let them not be disappointed. Consider the good of the expedition without the least regard to us." These were not the words of a man in comparative safety at home, but of one in the hands of his enemies, and of enemies who would have set small value upon his life.

The cartel signed by Washington and Villiers at Great Meadows was not recognized by the authorities at Williamsburg, and poor Stobo and his unfortunate fellow-hostage, Vanbraam, were left in durance. Stobo remained at Fort Duquesne but a short time, when he was transferred from one post to another until finally he brought up at Quebec. The genial captain, however, ingratiated himself with the free-living French officers, and was allowed all liberty within the limits of safety. In fact, he seems to have become quite a favorite in certain quarters, and was adopted into one of the Indian tribes.

Times were not bad with Stobo until after the defeat of General Braddock. Unfortunately for him the letters which he had written from Fort Duquesne were delivered to Braddock at Cumberland, and when that officer fell, at the battle of the Monongahela crossing, all his baggage and papers became the booty of the

enemy, and Stobo's letters among the rest. A change at once came over the spirit of his dreams. He was committed to close custody at Quebec, and the letters were sent to France for the determination of the government. In the following year orders were remitted to the governor of Canada to try Stobo for his life. An opportunity appearing, he escaped from prison before his trial came on; but as a reward of six thousand livres was offered for his apprehension, the whole populace turned out to scour the woods. He was soon recaptured and returned to a worse dungeon, there to await his trial. In November, 1756, he was brought before the court, and arraigned "for violating the known laws of nations, for breach of faith, and treasonable practices against the government that sheltered him." He was speedily found guilty and sentenced to be hanged.

The judgment, however, had first to be sent to France to be approved by the king; his majesty, for some reason, declined to approve the sentence, and Stobo was placed in the common jail. From this place he succeeded in making his escape in the night of the 30th of April, 1757; and, although the reward of six thousand livres was again offered, and again the whole town set out upon the search, he evaded them by secreting himself for several days in a barn in the near neighborhood, living meantime on the eggs of the farmer's hens; and when at length the hunt was called off, he ventured out; but, just at twilight of the next day, as he stepped into the high-road below the Falls of Montmorenci, he was confronted by a number of

horsemen who were coming up the road; he at once plunged into the woods and tried to escape; but he was seized, and again returned to prison in Quebec.

"There dwelt, by lucky fate," so chants the author of the Memoirs, "in this strong capital a lady fair, of chaste renown, of manners sweet, and gentle soul." It is the old, old story. "Long had her heart confessed for this poor prisoner a flame;" besides, which was much to the purpose, she had influence with Vaudreuil, the governor; and the result was that a little more freedom was granted to the poor prisoner, of which freedom he took advantage to run away, by a strange coincidence again on the night of the 30th of April. This time he departed with several other prisoners in a large canoe which they found on the bank of the river.

They paddled silently and swiftly down the St. Lawrence, and when day dawned they had left Quebec far behind them. They then landed, carried their canoe with them into the woods and lay quietly through the day. When night returned they again embarked; and so for ten days they continued their course down the river, secreting themselves during the day and rowing rapidly by night until they reached the Gulf of St. Lawrence. After a variety of adventures by sea and shore, in the course of which they take a French shallop with a crew of five men, and "thus doubly manned, they can relieve the oars, and then away they fly with double speed;" a few days later they capture a sloop and then a schooner, and so they arrive at the welcome port of Louisburg in thirty-eight days from Quebec, with their last capture and ten prisoners, having al-

lowed eight to depart in the long-boat, there being too many in all for the schooner to carry.

From Louisburg Stobo returned to Quebec, and there served some time under the gallant Wolfe, and afterwards with Amherst on Lake Champlain. In the year 1759 he returned to Williamsburg, in Virginia. Though absent from his regiment, he had long before been advanced to the position of major. Here he received the thanks of the Virginia Assembly and the sum of one thousand pounds, with leave of absence for twelve months with full pay. Stobo sailed from New York for England, February 18, 1760, and arrived in London on the 22d of March. He remained but a short time in England, leaving again for America, April 24 of the same year, with a letter from Mr. Pitt to General Amherst, expressing the king's approval of Major Stobo's conduct, and bespeaking for him the command of a company "either in your own or Anstruther's regiment."

The "Memoirs of Major Stobo"* brings the life of its hero down only to the year 1760, to which period we have traced it. Of his later career we have no knowledge. What further services he may have given to his country, the time, the place, the manner of his death, are all alike covered by the pall of oblivion. It is one of the strange facts of history that this enterprising man should thus disappear from the stage of

* This is a small book by some unknown hand, but written in the worst possible style,—a dreary sing-song that is almost exasperating. An edition of it was published in Pittsburgh in 1854 under the auspices of Neville B. Craig.

action and no record of his exit remain. He deserves to be remembered, not only as a brave and patriotic character, but as one of the first English residents of the future Pittsburgh and the earliest historian of the place.

Of Vanbraam it is only casually mentioned that he reappeared at Williamsburg, Virginia, in the fall of the year 1760, after a confinement of six years in Canada. He has been harshly and perhaps unjustly treated by history, because by his misinterpretation of one of the articles of capitulation at Great Meadows Washington was led unwittingly to admit the killing of Jumonville to be an assassination.

The Virginians were highly incensed and alarmed by the defeat at Fort Necessity, and within a few weeks the Assembly met and voted the governor twenty thousand pounds for the defence of the colony. And they had need to be active. "The French are like so many locusts," said Dinwiddie; "they are collected in bodies in a most surprising manner; their number now on the Ohio is from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred."

In the early part of August Governor Hamilton called the Pennsylvania Assembly by special summons and laid before them the state of the country, and appealed to them to take some steps towards the protection of the frontier; but his efforts issued only in a renewal of the old-time controversies. In the following October Robert Hunter Morris succeeded Hamilton as deputy-governor of Pennsylvania. A new Assembly had also been chosen. The new governor applied himself to the task in which Hamilton had failed, but with

no better success. Pages of the Assembly's journals were covered with expressions of loyalty, but they refused to do anything in the way of providing for the emergency. They even resorted to the shameful evasion that the French forts on the Ohio were beyond the territorial limits of Pennsylvania, and that it was the business of Virginia to look after them; and finally wound up by granting the sum of five thousand pounds "for the accommodation of the king's troops,"—if they should ever arrive. They then adjourned to the following May.

Meantime the home government had decided to take some measures against French encroachments in the colonies. To this end two regiments of regulars, of five hundred men each, to be recruited in America to seven hundred men each, were ordered to Virginia. The two regiments chosen for this duty were the Forty-fourth, Sir Peter Halket, and the Forty-eighth, Colonel Thomas Dunbar. Sir Peter was a gallant soldier, and at the rout of the English at Prestonpans, in 1745, where he acted as a captain in Lee's regiment, he almost alone showed any spirit. He kept his company together, and getting behind a ditch he continued to fire on the rebels till they were glad to let him surrender on terms.* Colonel Dunbar had been appointed to the

* "Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle," p. 118. Sir Peter Halket was of Pitferran, Scotland, and was brother of Mrs. Wardlaw, author of the ballad of "Hardyknute":

"Stately stept he east the wa',
And stately stept he west."

See Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry."

command of the Forty-eighth Regiment in April, 1752. A glimpse of his military character will appear in the sequel. The entire campaign was put in charge of Major-General Edward Braddock. Braddock was a native of Perthshire, Scotland, and was at this time not less than sixty years of age. His father, whose name he bore, entered the famous Coldstream Guards as lieutenant at some period prior to October, 1684, and retired from the service with the rank of major-general in September, 1715. His son, with whom we are now more particularly concerned, entered the same regiment as ensign in October, 1710, and retired from the regiment in February, 1753, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel,—thus the roster of the Coldstream Guards bore the name of Edward Braddock for a period of seventy years. In February, 1753, he was appointed colonel of the Fourteenth Foot; in March, 1754, major-general; and September 24, following, he was appointed General and Commander of the Forces in an expedition to North America. In the wars of Europe for a period of forty-five years he had taken a part, and he was present at the defeat at Fontenoy and the victory at Culloden. He was a thorough soldier, and was noted even in those rude times for courage, recklessness, and want of feeling. Thackeray, in his "Virginians," represents him as a jolly, roystering man, who, when the guest of Madame Esmond, "required to be helped to most dishes at the table, and more than once, and was forever holding out his glass for drink."

The two designated regiments sailed from Cork

in the middle of January, 1755, under the convoy of Admiral Keppel, and arrived at Alexandria, on the Potomac, in the following March, where they went into camp. They were here recruited to the required strength; there were also several independent companies of colonial troops, a company of horse, another of artillery, a company of marines; in all, about two thousand one hundred and fifty men; besides the usual swarm of camp followers and non-combatants, women, sutlers, wagoners, etc. A number of Indians had also joined Braddock's camp; but they were treated with such indifference and contempt that they rapidly went off, so that at the end of the campaign there were but eight of them remaining. Among these soldiers were men yet unknown to fame, who were destined to act on a wider stage a few years later,—George Washington, Thomas Gage, Horatio Gates, and Hugh Mercer. The forces concentrated at Fort Cumberland, which had recently been built at the mouth of Wills Creek, and by the 10th of June they were all on the move for Fort Duquesne.

Their progress was very leisurely. They followed the line of Nemacolin's Path, opening it out as they went for the passage of the artillery and wagons. The general rode luxuriously in his carriage. He was in no hurry. His prey could not escape him. "Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days," he said to Franklin, "and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." By the 18th of the month they had arrived only at the Little Meadow, less than thirty miles from Cumberland, where some

fortifications had been made by Major Chapman and Sir John Sinclair, who had been sent on in advance for that purpose. Here it was determined to make a division of the army: General Braddock and Sir Peter Halket with a picked force of about twelve hundred men, besides officers and drivers, were to push on more rapidly; while Colonel Dunbar, with the remainder, nearly one thousand men, was to follow with the heavier artillery and baggage. Still, owing to the "extreme badness of the road," Braddock's progress was very slow. Parties of the enemy hung about the line of march. They stripped the bark from the trees and wrote upon them threatening and scurrilous language. On the 25th of June they shot and scalped three stragglers from the line.*

On the last day of June Braddock crossed the Youghiogheny at the point where Connellsville now stands; the place was then called Stewart's Crossings. The route led north and northwest through the gloomy ravines and over the wooded hills of the Youghiogheny country. On the evening of the 8th of July they neared the confluence of that stream with the Monongahela. Here they encamped. Next morning early they were again on the march, hoping to gain their destination that day. They crossed the Monongahela just below the mouth of the Youghiogheny, for the sake of the easier travelling on the left bank of the river, and about three miles farther down, just below the mouth of Turtle Creek, they recrossed to the right-hand side. John Frazier's abandoned cabin stood here,—the only

* Veech's "The Monongahela of Old," p. 59.

habitation belonging to a British subject in all that wide region. Washington knew the place well. It was within ten miles of Fort Duquesne.

The summer of 1755 was one of extreme drought in Pennsylvania, and the crossings of the river were made without difficulty. Braddock partly expected to be opposed by the enemy, if opposed at all, at the crossing of the Monongahela. And such had been the purpose of Beaujeu, a spirited man, who had determined to go out to meet the English. But for some reason he had not been able to reach that point in time. The vanguard of Braddock's army, consisting mostly of three hundred soldiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, afterwards famous as the British commander at Bunker Hill, and a large number of axemen and pioneers under Sir John Sinclair, were moving up the slope above Frazier's house, when Beaujeu appeared upon the scene, bounding along the woodland path, and waving his hat as a signal to some unseen party.* The main body of troops had halted under the trees near the foot of the hill, and the rear-guard was still in the act of crossing the river, when a quick, sudden fire opened upon the van from the bushes in front of them. The authorities usually give noon as the time when the attack upon Braddock's front was made; Washington says ten o'clock, and all the circumstances of the case would seem to indicate the earlier hour.†

Only a few days before this James Smith, a bright

* Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," vol. i. p. 215.

† See "An Unpublished Autograph Narrative by Washington" in *Scribner's Magazine*, May, 1893.

young fellow of eighteen, had been captured by the Indians while with a party of road-cutters near Bedford, and brought to Fort Duquesne. Here he had been compelled to run the gauntlet, in which he had been very severely dealt with. He had recovered from the effects of his ill-usage so far as to be able to go about a little with the aid of a staff, when, on the morning of the 9th of July, he perceived an unusual stir about the place. He climbed up to the top of the wall, and looking over he saw outside an excited throng of Indians near the gate. Barrels of gunpowder, bullets, flints, etc., had been opened, and every one was helping himself to whatever he needed. After a little they all marched off in order towards the woods, and with them went a number of French and Canadians. Smith computed their number to be about four hundred, and wondered that they would go out so small a party to confront Braddock's army. There were actually more than twice four hundred. These were the men to whom Beaujeu was signalling with his hat; and it was they who now opened fire upon Gage's party.

The troops were startled for an instant by the sudden attack, but British discipline quickly asserted itself. The pioneers fell back. The soldiers faced about and discharged volley after volley in the direction of the unseen enemy. Their fire was mostly without effect, but at the third volley the gallant Beaujeu fell. Dumas succeeded to the command. The Canadians betook themselves to flight. The Indians also broke and scattered, but they did not leave the field. Concealed by the bushes and trees, and favored by some convenient

ravines, they extended themselves along the flanks of the English, and poured in a constant and deadly fire. At the first onset Braddock hurried forward re-enforcements. He himself galloped about the field, ordering, encouraging, and cursing. But discipline could accomplish little here. It was a species of warfare alike new and demoralizing to the British regulars. There was no sign of weakness or cowardice, no thought of running away; but gradually the ranks of the red-coats were broken up and they fell back until they stood in a confused crowd, a fair target for their unseen foe. The Virginians, who understood the matter better, made some attempts to rout the enemy from their hiding-places; but their successes were only temporary. Besides, Braddock did not approve of that irregular mode of fighting. For three hours the carnage went on. It was an altogether one-sided fight, and the advantages were all on the side of the assailants. Washington had one horse killed and two wounded under him, a bullet through his hat and several through his clothes. Sir Peter Halket was killed. Braddock had four horses shot under him, and had mounted the fifth, when a bullet passed through his arm and pierced his body, and he fell heavily to the ground. The order for retreat had already been given, and upon the fall of the general the men rushed pellmell from the field and across the river. The slaughter had been dreadful; the rout was complete. "The conduct of the British officers," says Parkman, "was above praise. Nothing could surpass their undaunted self-devotion; and in their vain attempts to lead their men the havoc

among them was frightful." Of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded; while out of thirteen hundred and seventy-three non-commissioned officers and privates only four hundred and fifty-nine came off unharmed.* The losses to the French and Indians were comparatively slight,—probably not more than sixty or seventy in all, killed and wounded. The artillery, the baggage, the wounded,—everything was alike abandoned by the fleeing soldiers, and fell into the hands of the enemy. A number of the Indians pursued the fugitives to the edge of the river, but they did not follow them across. Fortunate for the English was it that such abundance of plunder remained upon the field as to attract the savages from further chase. "Had a pursuit taken place," says Washington, "by passing the defile which we had avoided, and they had got into our rear, the whole, except a few woodmen, would have fallen victims to the merciless savages." The horrors of the battle-field, when the Indians fell upon the wounded and the prisoners, can only be imagined. There was no survivor to tell the tale.

Nobody remained in command of the English. Washington placed the wounded general in a small cart, and with a handful of his brave Virginians, who covered the retreat, so far as it was covered at all, bore him from the field. Braddock lingered in great agony of both body and mind until the evening of Sunday,

* Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," vol. i. p. 219. Parkman observes in a note on page 220 that Braddock's force had been increased a few days before the battle by detachments from Dunbar.

the 13th of July, when he died at Dunbar's camp, near the Great Meadows. His body was interred by Washington in the road, and the army wagons were hauled over his grave, so that no sign of his place of sepulture might be discovered by the enemy. Orders had been given to destroy all the wagons and stores that could not be at once taken back to Fort Cumberland, and the retreat to that place be made. These orders were carried out with "shameful alacrity."

Towards the close of the afternoon of the battle the voice of joy and triumph was heard in Fort Duquesne. The victorious warriors were coming back in squads and companies, bearing with them the trophies of the field,—bloody scalps, grenadier caps, British canteens, bayonets, and all the plunder of a defeated army. To the firing of small-arms by the returning braves the great guns of the fort roared in reply. With the report of the fire-arms were mingled the most frightful shouts and yells, so that it seemed that the infernal regions had broken loose.

Again young Smith climbed to the top of the wall and looked out. "About sundown," says he, "I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny River, opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screamed in a most doleful manner; the

Indians, in the mean time, yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry.”* The scene of their immolation was near the lower end of the present Exposition Building, on Duquesne Way.

* See “An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith,” etc. “Perhaps the best of all the numerous narratives of captives among the Indians.”—PARKMAN.

CHAPTER III

THE TURN OF THE TIDE

BRADDOCK had fallen. All the great expectations that had been based upon his enterprise were scattered to the winds. Our fathers were so stung by anger and disappointment that they could not do his memory justice. His defeat was attributed to pusillanimity, to ignorance, to obstinacy, to incompetency,—to everything except the real cause, and that was an unreasonable contempt for the foe and an overweening confidence in himself and the British regulars. "These savages," he had said, "may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops it is impossible they should make any impression."* Braddock's personal courage was of the highest quality, and his soldiery had been approved on many battle-fields. Even upon the fatal field at the Monongahela crossing his deportment was that of a man of spirit and intelligence. His chief error was in persisting in fighting according to the rules of civilized warfare and refusing to adopt the methods of the savage in dealing with a savage foe. "He was brave even to a fault," says Washington, "and in regular service would have done honor to his profession."† The fact of the matter is that Braddock's army was doomed from the moment

* "Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin, written by Himself."

† Washington's MS., *Scribner's Magazine*, May, 1893.

Beaujeu set out to repel their approach. The disparity in numbers was not so great as to be any particular consideration, as we see from the sequel; and by the Indian method of bushwhacking the line of march, not a man of them would ever have appeared before the walls of Fort Duquesne except as a prisoner of war.

The fugitives fled for the camp of Dunbar, forty miles in the rear. Through all the hours of darkness they stumbled along the rough way, with the sound of the warwhoop still in their ears. "The shocking scenes which presented themselves in this night's march," says Washington, "are not to be described,—the dead, the dying, the groans, lamentations, and cries of the wounded for help, were enough to pierce a heart of adamant." Washington, who had been ordered by the wounded general to hasten to Dunbar for assistance, rode on all night and reached the camp in the forenoon of the next day. By noon the advance wave of the retreat reached the place, and in due time the remainder of the shattered host. With those who had returned from the field of disaster Dunbar had now at least twelve hundred or fourteen hundred able-bodied men, and could well have renewed the attack upon Duquesne or could have effectually guarded the frontier against invasion; but no such purpose entered into his mind. He could not get away too fast or too far. "Surely you must mistake," wrote Dinwiddie to Washington on the heels of the defeat; "Colonel Dunbar will not march to winter-quarters in the middle of summer, and leave the frontier exposed to the invasions of the enemy." To Dunbar himself he wrote

urging a renewal of the attempt: "You have four months now to come of the best weather of the year for such an expedition. What a fine field for honor will Colonel Dunbar have to confirm and establish his character as a brave officer." But he did not know Dunbar; for that "brave officer" was heading with all expedition for Philadelphia. "To march off all the regulars," exclaimed Dinwiddie, "and leave the fort and frontiers to be defended by four hundred sick and wounded, and the poor remains of our provincial forces, appears to me absurd." It was worse than absurd, it was shameful. From Philadelphia Dunbar marched north to join Shirley's enterprise against Niagara; but, as Parkman observes, "at a pace which made it certain that he could not arrive in time to be of the least use." His subsequent fortune was perhaps better than his desert. In 1756 he was made lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, and in 1760 he was promoted to lieutenant-general. He died in 1767.

The Assembly of Virginia promptly voted forty thousand pounds for the defence of the colony. Washington was put in command, and with a force of from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred men he tried to protect a frontier of three hundred and fifty miles. But it was impossible to do much. The work of slaughter went on right and left. "The supplicating tears of the women," Washington wrote to Dinwiddie, "and moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to

the people's ease." In Pennsylvania matters were in a still more lamentable case. Governor Morris summoned the Assembly to meet on the 23d of July, and laid before them the defenceless condition of the province, and begged that they would not "by any ill-timed parsimony, by reviving any matters that have been in dispute, or from any other motive, suffer the people to remain any longer undefended or the blood of the innocent to be shed by the cruel hands of savages." It seems almost inconceivable, but upon this appeal by the governor the Assembly at once resorted to their old tactics of bickering and delay. As a show of doing their duty they brought in money bills for the king's use, but burdened with provisions such as they knew, both by the terms of his commission and the heavy bonds under which he was placed, the governor could not sign. Months were thus spent in acrimonious debate and mutual recriminations. We are sorry to say that the leader in this unbecoming course on the part of the Assembly was Benjamin Franklin, who was not only a statesman, but on occasion could be a politician, and who was now more bent on defeating the governor than on providing for the safety of the people. The Quaker element in the Assembly, with their singular notions about non-resistance, were his ready and easy tools.

Meantime murder was rampant all along the border. Not only were the settlements left unprotected by the retreat of Dunbar, but a highway had been opened by Braddock by which the invaders could all the more easily destroy them. Within a few days after the fall

of Braddock, Dumas, who had succeeded De Contre-cœur in the command at Fort Duquesne, had his war-parties scouring the country, and, as he wrote, the Indian villages were soon "full of prisoners of every age and sex." By the beginning of October nearly fifty persons had been killed on Patterson's Creek. It was reported that one hundred had been killed near Fort Cumberland. The settlements in the Great Cove were destroyed. More than forty persons were killed in the neighborhood of Paxtang. Acrelius, a contemporary writer, says: "In Gnadenhütten, a place of the Herrnhüters, the brotherhood were sitting at their evening meal, when the wild heathen, like so many spirits of darkness, crept into the house, murdered the people, and tore off their scalps, and then let all things ascend in smoke."* But a still more terrible arraignment is that by a contemporary French writer. "Our Indians have waged the most cruel war against the English," writes the Rev. Claude Godfroy Cocquard to his brother, in 1756; "they continued it throughout the spring, and are still so exasperated as to be beyond control. The farmers have been forced to quit their abodes and to retire into the town. They have neither ploughed nor planted. The Indians do not make any prisoners; they kill all they meet, men, women, and children. Every day they have some in their kettle, and after having abused the women and maidens, they slaughter and burn them."†

Repeated cries and petitions were sent up by the

* Israel Acrelius's "History of New Sweden," p. 138.

† "Pennsylvania Archives," second series, vol. vi. p. 409.

helpless settlers to the governor and Assembly at Philadelphia; but, as Parkman observes, the governor could do nothing, and the Assembly would do nothing, to help them. The mayor, the magistrates, and the common council of Philadelphia, whom Franklin dignifies as "inconsiderates," next appealed to the government, but with no better success. The alarm continued to grow. The savage invaders crossed the Susquehanna and carried on their devastation within sixty or seventy miles of the city. The people of the counties threatened to march in a body and compel the Assembly to act. Finally a wagon containing the bodies of some of the victims was brought into the city by the enraged settlers, and the ghastly remains were exhibited at the doors of the Assembly. Only under such pressure, and upon receipt of a voluntary contribution of five thousand pounds sterling from the proprietaries, did the Assembly yield so far as to pass a bill for the defence of the people, such as the governor felt that he could sign. The whole history of the year 1755, so far as the Assembly of Pennsylvania is concerned, was disgraceful.*

But thus at length furnished with means, Governor Morris took instant measures to secure as great safety for the border settlers as possible. A chain of forts and block-houses extending along the Blue Mountains

* Parkman gives a summary of the trouble between the governor and the Assembly in "Montcalm and Wolfe," vol. i., chapter x. It may be read at full length in the "Historical Review," etc., of Pennsylvania, in "Franklin's Works," vol. ii., Philadelphia, 1840. The "Review" is written from Franklin's stand-point, which was not that of the governor.

from the Delaware River to the Susquehanna was made at a cost of eighty-five thousand pounds. These forts were usually ten or fifteen miles apart, and were garrisoned by soldiers maintained at the expense of the province. It was hoped that these fortified posts would protect the settlements; but they could not effectually serve this purpose. As Franklin observed, they could not give security "unless they were connected by a wall like that of China," from one end of the settlements to the other;* while to send out the soldiers in pursuit of the marauders, he said, was like setting a cow to catch a hare.

No further serious attempt was made against the enemy until late in the summer of 1756. On the 30th of August in that year Colonel John Armstrong, with a force of three hundred and seven men, marched from Fort Shirley, in Huntingdon County, against the famous Indian town of Kittanning, on the Allegheny River. The French called the place Attique. It was a town of the Loup family of Delaware Indians, and the head-quarters of the noted chief Captain Jacobs. Colonel Armstrong took a conspicuous part in all the troubles of the French and Indian War, and afterwards was a major-general in the Revolution. Our best authority in the present case is the official report of Armstrong himself to William Denny, who had succeeded Morris in the governorship of Pennsylvania only two or three weeks before. Leaving Fort Shirley, Armstrong proceeded up the Juniata Valley to

* "Franklin's Works:" "The Canada Pamphlet."

Frankstown, at the eastern foot of the Allegheny Mountains, which he reached on the 3d day of September. He then took the "Kittanning Path," and at the close of the 6th he had approached within fifty miles of the town. By a night march on the 7th they were able to reach Kittanning early in the morning of the 8th of September. It is remarkable that this large party, with a train of horses carrying supplies, should have proceeded the whole breadth of the intervening forest and reached Kittanning without being perceived by any of the Indians. There is but one way to account for this: having no apprehensions of an attack from the English, but, on the other hand, themselves preparing for an attack upon Fort Shirley, they had called in all their forces, so that at this particular time the woods were quite free from straggling warriors.

About ten o'clock in the evening of September 7 Armstrong unexpectedly came across a party of savages encamped for the night within six or eight miles of Kittanning. These were an advance party of the force that was about to descend upon Fort Shirley. Armstrong had the good luck to discover them before they perceived him. He left a party of twelve men here under Lieutenant Hogg, to surprise the savages early in the morning. Armstrong then withdrew his army, and by making a wide circuit he passed around the enemy without being seen. Lieutenant Hogg attacked the savages the next morning, according to his instructions, but instead of there being only three of them, as the scouts had reported, he found them to be superior in number to his own party. The result of the fight-

ing here was that the lieutenant was mortally wounded, four of his men were killed, while the rest ran away.

It was a little before dawn when Armstrong came out of the woods at a point about a quarter of a mile below the main body of the town. Between him and the river were some cornfields, and in the cornfields, because the night was warm, a number of the Indians had taken up their lodgings. According to their custom on the eve of any important enterprise, they had spent nearly the whole night with their war-dance; in fact, Armstrong says he was guided in the latter part of his march by the beating of the drum and the whooping of the warriors.

Daylight came on apace, but the presence of the English had not yet been discovered. Armstrong quietly made his preparations for the attack. The Indians, after their late exertions, were sleeping. Armstrong ordered a detachment to proceed along the brow of the hill in the rear of the town until they should come opposite the main body of the houses. He delayed the attack at the cornfields until this detachment should reach the desired point. Then the assault was made simultaneously upon the town and upon the sleepers in the fields. The principal contest went on among the houses in the town. Of the buildings there were about thirty. One of the principal of these, which seems to have been at least a story and a half high, was occupied by Captain Jacobs. When the fighting began, and the Indians discovered that they were being assailed in their own stronghold, they raised the war-whoop, and cried out that the white men had come

and they should now have scalps enough. They at once returned the fire of their enemy, and with very sérious effect.

It was impossible to contend successfully against the savages while the latter occupied the houses; so Armstrong gave orders to set fire to the buildings. This was accomplished, but not without the loss of several men. The Indians were good marksmen, and killed and wounded any who came within range of their guns. Armstrong himself received a wound from a musket-ball in the shoulder. As the work of fire and destruction went on, the Indians were summoned to surrender; one in particular replied that he was a man and would not be a prisoner. Upon being told that he would be burned in his house, he answered that he did not care, for he should kill four or five before he died; "and," says Armstrong, "had we not desisted from exposing ourselves they would have killed a great many more,—they having a number of loaded guns there."

As the fire progressed and the smoke enveloped the place, an Indian in one of the houses, to show his manhood, began to sing, and a squaw crying out through fear was severely rebuked by the man. Very soon thereafter, as the fire became too hot, two men and a squaw rushed out of the house and ran for the corn-fields, but they were shot down on the way. Captain Jacobs, appearing at the garret window of his house, was shot, and fell to the ground. The fighting went on fiercely on all sides. Captain Mercer was wounded in the arm. "During the burning of the houses," says

Armstrong, "we were agreeably entertained with a quick succession of charged guns gradually firing off as they were reached by the fire, but more so with the vast explosion of sundry bags and large kegs of gunpowder, wherewith almost every house abounded." The Indians had made their boasts that they had ammunition enough on hand to carry on war with the English for ten years. A large supply of goods but lately received from the French was also destroyed. Eleven English captives were rescued from bondage.

Armstrong's victory at Kittanning was a great event and filled the colony with rejoicing; yet it had been dearly purchased. He reported his losses as seventeen killed, thirteen wounded, and nineteen missing. Many of the Indians escaped, crossing the river and fleeing into the woods. Some of them returned and hung upon the flanks of Armstrong's army upon its homeward march, causing much apprehension among the men. But the dreaded Kittanning was destroyed, and honors and more substantial rewards were paid to Armstrong and his gallant troops.*

This was the only enterprise of pith and moment directed against the enemy on the western border of Pennsylvania after Braddock's defeat until the summer of 1758. In the mean while, as we have seen, the frontier had been left almost without defence. The torch and the tomahawk wrought their accustomed havoc among the scattered cabins. The line of advancing civilization had not only been checked, but

* Armstrong's letter may be seen in the "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. ii. pp. 767-73.

was being driven back upon the older settlements by the hosts of savagery.

The accession of William Pitt, the Great Commoner, to the premiership of England in 1757 was the beginning of a more vigorous administration of public affairs. In the plan of operations for the year 1758 an expedition against Fort Duquesne was made a part. The command of the enterprise was given to Brigadier-General John Forbes. Like his predecessor in the same field, Braddock, Forbes was a Scotchman by birth. In early life he had been a student of medicine, but had speedily abandoned the healing art for that of war. At the time of his present appointment he was forty-eight years of age and a veteran in service. He was an able man, honest, brave, and without ostentation. He thought only of his duty. Such was his steadfastness of purpose that he was popularly nicknamed the "Head of Iron."

Forbes arrived in Philadelphia in the spring of the year 1758, but his forces were slow in getting together. In the mean time he was attacked by a painful disease, which clung to him throughout the campaign and to the close of his life. To the army of Forbes Pennsylvania contributed about two thousand seven hundred men, including the regiment called the Royal Americans. These, together with a detachment of twelve hundred Highlanders of Montgomery's regiment, formed the First Division of the army, and were commanded by Colonel Henry Bouquet, a gallant Swiss officer. Virginia sent about two thousand six hundred men into the field, and to these were added contingents

from Maryland and North Carolina. The Southern troops formed the Second Division, and it was placed under the command of Colonel George Washington. The entire army consisted of nearly seven thousand men. By the end of June it was got into motion. Bouquet, with an advance party, proceeded to Raystown, on a branch of the Juniata, where he established a fortified post, which was named Fort Bedford. The present town of Bedford marks the place. Washington, with his Virginians, was at Cumberland, on the Braddock Road, where he awaited the arrival of Forbes.

But now sprang up a debate whether it would be better to make a new road from Raystown direct to Fort Duquesne or, turning southward, join Washington at Cumberland, thirty-four miles distant, and from there follow the road that had already been prepared by General Braddock. It was to the interest of Pennsylvania to have the new road made, while it was to the advantage of Virginia to have the army proceed by Braddock's Road. Washington strenuously advocated the latter, but wholly from a military point of view. A month of precious time and a vast amount of labor would have been saved by following his advice. But he was overruled, through the influence mainly of Sir John Sinclair and Colonel Bouquet. Whatever personal or mercenary motives may have entered into the dispute on the part of others, Washington had none. "I am uninfluenced by prejudice," he wrote, "having no hopes or fears but for the general good." The delay in cutting the new road endangered the success

of the expedition, as Washington foresaw, and it escaped failure by the narrowest margin.

It was with much grumbling and many complaints of the "dirty Dutchmen"* that the Virginians yielded the point and marched to Raystown. Owing to his illness Forbes's progress was very slow. He did not reach Raystown until the middle of September. Here he was joined by the troops under Washington. The work of constructing the new road had been intrusted to Colonel James Burd, and he had opened it up as far as to the Loyalhanna, a distance of fifty miles from Raystown. Here he built a small stockade fort, which was afterwards called Fort Ligonier, in honor of Sir John Ligonier, commander-in-chief of the English army. Forbes was fifty days in getting over these fifty miles,—a mile a day. Washington fretted with impatience. "We shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter," he writes, "but not to gather laurels, except of the kind that covers the mountains." It was now November, and fifty miles of rude highway through a howling wilderness still lay between them and Fort Duquesne. Winter was at hand, and in council the question of going into quarters for the season had been discussed.

While Forbes was yet away back at Raystown, or beyond, Bouquet, at Loyalhanna, sent forward Major James Grant with about eight hundred men, Virginians and Highlanders, and a number of Pennsylvanians of the Royal American regiment, to make a

* See letter of Robert Mumford in *The Olden Time*, June, 1846.

reconnaissance of Fort Duquesne. It was never meant that he should attack the place. In the early morning of September 14 he reached the brow of the hill which has ever since borne his name, overlooking Fort Duquesne, and scarcely half a mile from it. The hill was a high, rugged bluff, thickly wooded, with a steep descent towards the fort. It was not only much higher than at present, but it was cut across by deep ravines. The work of grading down has been going on at intervals for a hundred years, until of Grant's Hill nothing remains but the much anathematized "Hump," while the long, sloping streets which cross it give little hint of its former abruptness. On the face of the hill were heavy forest-trees, and at its foot were thickets and swamps through which it was difficult to pass. For the distance of a quarter of a mile from the fort the ground had been cleared, and much of it was in corn-fields, which the Indian women cultivated. In the first year of the French occupation two thousand bushels of corn were raised there; while it was calculated that, with the later clearings, "if the harvest were good," as M. Duquesne wrote in July, 1755, not less than six thousand bushels might be gathered.* Outside the walls of the fort, and scattered about with regard only to the whim or the convenience of the occupants, were twenty-five or thirty cabins, where dwelt the Indian population of the place. In times of emergency, like the present, this population was greatly increased, and their lodges stood thickly upon the open space. The fort itself was a small, four-sided work, strongly built,

* "Pennsylvania Archives," second series, vol. vi. p. 268.

on the sides facing the land of squared logs, and on the sides towards the water of stockades standing about twelve feet high. There were bastions or gabions at the corners, and upon each were mounted several guns carrying balls of three or four pounds. The entire work was surrounded by a deep ditch and an embankment. It could have offered slight resistance to a properly appointed army; and as M. Dumas, the commandant asserted, it was fit only to dishonor the officer who should be intrusted with its defence.

Grant's march, strange to say, had not been discovered by the enemy. From this fact perhaps it was that he had got the impression that the garrison at the fort had been greatly reduced in numbers, whereas the exact opposite was the case. Within only the last day or two Captain Aubry had arrived from the Illinois country with large re-enforcements. The enemy outnumbered Grant's men certainly two to one.

It was about two o'clock in the morning when Grant arrived at the brow of the hill which we have described. As soon as the troops came up, Major Lewis, of the Virginians, was sent forward with about four hundred men, with orders "to attack anything that was found about the fort." Captain Bullitt, with two subalterns and fifty men, had been left two miles in the rear in charge of the baggage. Grant himself remained upon the hill in order to cover the retreat and form the rear-guard in their return from the fort. The men under Major Lewis wore each a white shirt over his clothes, so that no mistakes might be made in the darkness.

After some time Lewis returned and reported that the night was so dark and the way so difficult, being obstructed by logs and fences, he could do nothing. Grant set out to investigate for himself, and found the men in great confusion, "which," he says, "was not surprising, for the major had brought them back from the plain when he returned himself, and everybody took a road of their own." He was then obliged to change his plans, and in order that at least something might be attempted, he sent forward a party of fifty men, who set fire to a building which stood on the clearing.

At the break of day Major Lewis, who had fallen greatly in the estimation of Grant, was sent back with some of the Royal Americans and Virginians to strengthen Captain Bullitt. This left only the Highlanders and some Pennsylvanians upon the scene. All this time a heavy fog added to the obscurity of the night, and when the vapor lifted about seven o'clock in the morning, Grant found that he could make out no plan of the fort, which seems to have been his main business, because of his distance from it. He then determined to make a direct assault upon it. Captain Macdonald, with one hundred Highlanders, was ordered forward to open the attack. Captain Mackenzie, with about two hundred and fifty more, was posted on the left, nearly facing the Monongahela, and one hundred Pennsylvanians were stationed on the right, near the Allegheny. The drummers and pipers remained with Grant on the hill; and now, "in order to put on a good countenance and to convince our men

that they had no reason to be afraid," he gave orders to sound the reveille.

We imagine we can hear the beating of the drums and the droning and wheezing of the bagpipes on the wooded hill-top that early September morning. The enemy at Fort Duquesne heard them and came swarming out from behind its walls. Grant's disposition of his men was an excellent one, if his purpose had been to have them cut up in detail. Captain Macdonald, who led the centre, was soon killed, and his troops fell back. Captain Mackenzie was made prisoner, many of his men were killed or captured, and the rest chased away. The Pennsylvanians, who were posted on the right, "were off without orders, without firing a shot." In half an hour from the beginning everything was in confusion, and Grant was attacked upon all sides. He now attempted to make an orderly retreat. He sent a message to Major Lewis, directing him to make the best disposition of his men he could until the discomfited forces could join him; but, as it happened, Lewis, on hearing the firing, hastened to the front again to assist Grant; but, as he took a path different from that pursued by Grant in his retreat, he missed him. The result was that Lewis was attacked in turn and taken prisoner; and Grant, upon coming up to the place, found only Captain Bullitt and his fifty Virginians. Grant endeavored to make a stand whenever he could get anybody to stay with him; but his party rapidly diminished, "every soldier taking the road he liked best," until he was left with only about a dozen of men. A number of French officers and soldiers

now came up and offered him quarter, which he accepted. His losses in this conflict were two hundred and seventy-three killed, wounded, and captured.*

The losses fell most heavily on the Highlanders, because, just as their countrymen had done at Braddock's defeat, they stood out exposed to the fire of the enemy, while the provincial soldiers took to the trees and fought the savages on their own terms. Captain Bullitt and his handful of men checked the pursuit, and thus enabled many to escape who would otherwise have been slain or captured. Five of the prisoners the savages burned at the stake, while others were tomahawked on the spot. Numbers of dead bodies were found lying through the woods upon the arrival of Forbes's army some weeks later, and skulls bleaching in the wintry winds grinned horribly from the tops of tall stakes along the sides of the Indian race-track near the fort.†

Major Grant was soon exchanged. He afterwards became a member of Parliament, and in the military service he was advanced from time to time. He served in America in the Revolution, and was present at the battles of Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown. He rose successively through the grades of brigadier-general, major-general, lieutenant-general to general.

* "The returns show that five hundred and forty came back safe out of eight hundred and thirteen." Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," vol. ii. p. 154, note.

† *The Olden Time*, April, 1846: "Historical Incidents," etc. See Grant's own account of his defeat in letter to Forbes, printed in Darlington's "Fort Pitt," pp. 63-71, and in "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," vol. ii. pp. 83-89.

He died in 1806, in his eighty-sixth year. One can but remark the singular parallelism between the record of his final military promotions and that of his illustrious American namesake long afterwards.

The enemy emboldened by his easy defeat of Grant determined to turn the tables and attack the advancing army of Forbes in their camp. Accordingly, about noon on the 12th day of October De Vetri with a large force, said to number twelve hundred French and two hundred Indians, fell upon the stockade at Loyalhanna with great fury, and kept up the assault until three o'clock in the afternoon. Their efforts were unavailing. In the following night they renewed the attack, but still without success. The losses of the English were sixty-seven men and officers killed, wounded, and taken. What loss the enemy sustained is not reported, but it was known to be heavy. Bouquet was not present at this engagement, being at the time stuck fast in the mud with the artillery at Stony Creek. Colonel James Burd was in command at Loyalhanna at the time. It was a severe engagement; "but," wrote Burd, "we had the pleasure to do that honor to his Majesty's arms to keep his camp at Loyalhanna." The next day Colonel Bouquet writes: "I have had this afternoon a second letter from Colonel Burd. The enemies have been all night around the entrenchments, and have made several false attacks. The cannon and the cohorns have held them in awe, and until the colonel had sent to reconnoitre the environs, he was not sure that they had retired. At this moment [ten P.M.] is heard from the mountains

several cannon-shots, which makes me judge that the enemies have not yet abandoned the party." On their march backward to Fort Duquesne De Vetri's men were so pressed by famine that they were obliged to kill and eat some of the horses they had captured on their raid.

While all this warlike work was going on, not far away was a man threading the deep forests on a more peaceful errand. Christian Frederick Post, an unassuming Moravian, who had married among the Indians and was much respected by them, was requested by Governor Denny, in July, 1755, to proceed to the western part of Pennsylvania and endeavor to win the Indian tribes from their allegiance to the French. Post set off almost immediately from Philadelphia in company with several friendly Indians, crossed the northern part of the colony to Kushkushkee, on the Big Beaver, where he met in council the Indian chiefs. Though he did not succeed fully in his mission, he very much weakened the attachment of the Indians to the French and opened the way to greater results in the near future. At the end of October following Post again set off on the same errand. He followed the route taken by Forbes's army, arriving at Loyalhanna on the 7th of November. On the 16th he again reached Kushkushkee. On the 20th the chiefs assembled in council to hear the message of Post, and by the 24th such progress had he made in his work of conciliation that he ventured to put up the English flag, in spite of a French officer who was present. The next day King Beaver, Shingiss, and about fifty war-

riors met together in council. Post and the French officer were also present. The latter manifested great sorrow at the course things were taking; but it was too late, the French influence had waned; that same day Fort Duquesne was abandoned, and Post's mission was accomplished. "We ended this day," he says, "with pleasure and great satisfaction on both sides."

All the time the events were transpiring at Loyalhanna which we have mentioned Forbes was creeping along towards that point. He was extremely ill, and was carried along in a litter which was slung between two horses. Anybody else under the circumstances would have resigned the command; but Forbes held on, and finally arrived at Loyalhanna in the early part of November. It was late in the season. As we have said, it was proposed to go into quarters for the winter. The French concluded that the expedition for the present would be abandoned. "I think that Fort Duquesne is safe for this autumn and winter," writes Montcalm, November 15, "and that the enemy will think of going into winter-quarters."* Washington was the moving spirit of the enterprise. It was his courage, his wisdom, his energy, that saved it from failure. "Vast as were the preparations," says Bancroft, "Forbes would never, but for Washington, have seen the Ohio."

While Forbes was lying at Loyalhanna a reconnoitring party of the enemy approached within two miles of the camp, whereupon Colonel Mercer was sent out

* "Pennsylvania Archives," second series, vol. vi. p. 451.

with a body of Virginians to dislodge them. A severe fight ensued; and from the firing, which seemed to be drawing nearer to the camp, it was thought that Mercer was falling back. Upon this Washington, with the consent of Forbes, called for volunteers, and went out to the assistance of Mercer. By this time it had grown dusk, and through a misunderstanding Mercer's men began firing upon Washington's party, and the latter replied, by which a number of soldiers were killed and wounded. The enemy had already retreated. Long afterwards Washington said that he had never been in more imminent danger, being between the lines endeavoring to stop the firing.*

Meanwhile, matters had not been going well with the French at Fort Duquesne. Stores that had been forwarded from Canada had been intercepted by Bradstreet at Fort Frontenac. They were short of provisions. The Indians had mostly withdrawn. Montcalm, in the letter from which we have just quoted, says: "The Indians have retired to hunt, and the Louisiana detachments, which came from the post of the Illinois, as well as those of Detroit, have returned home." Intelligence of this having been made known to Forbes, it is said by an English prisoner who had been recovered from the French, a forward movement was resolved on. Washington claimed the privilege of leading the advance column, on the ground that "from long intimacy with these woods, and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any

* Washington's MS., *Scribner's Magazine*, May, 1893.

troops that will be employed.”* His request was granted, and on the 12th of November he marched forward. The next day he was followed by Colonel Armstrong, the hero of Kittanning, with a force of one thousand Pennsylvanians. The combined strength of the two detachments was about two thousand five hundred men. On the 17th Washington was at Bushy Run; on the 18th he was within seventeen miles of the fort. On the 17th Forbes himself followed with four thousand five hundred effective men, having left strong garrisons at Ligonier and Bedford.†

On the 24th Forbes encamped his whole army at Turtle Creek, only ten or twelve miles from Fort Duquesne. During the night a heavy explosion was heard to the westward, and in the early morning the word was brought that the French had blown up the magazine, fired the buildings, and abandoned the place. The advance hastened forward, but found only a mass of smoking ruins. Some of the French had gone down the Ohio, and others up the Allegheny to Venango. In the dusk of evening, Saturday, November 25, 1758, the army assembled upon the spot and took possession of the site of Fort Duquesne.

* Sparks's "Writings of Washington," vol. i. p. 99.

† "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," vol. ii. p. 208.

CHAPTER IV

FORT PITT AND BUSHY RUN

A FIERCE snow-storm was sweeping up the Ohio Valley when the gallant Colonel Armstrong, amid the shouts of his exulting comrades, ran up the banner of St. George above the ruins of Fort Duquesne. Amid their acclamations the place was named Pittsburgh. Griffis, in his "Life of Sir William Johnson,"* says the name was given by Washington. Surely no one had a better claim to stand as sponsor for the future city.

It was a night of great physical discomfort. A number of cabins had stood about the fort, but these had shared in the general destruction of the place, and their roofs had been heaped against the fort to add to the conflagration. The weary soldiers improvised such shelter as they could from the scattered ruins, or crouched about their camp-fires and ate their rations in the snow. The sentinels, wrapped in their military cloaks, plodded their laborious paces through the drifts, and fancied they heard in the night winds among the trees the shrill cry of the distant savage. But their sufferings were lightened by the reflection that the coveted prize was in their hands and their toils almost at an end.

The immediate necessity of the time was a place of shelter and defence, and at once work was begun upon

* In "Makers of America" series, p. 168.

a fortification. It was but a slight structure, to be superseded soon by a better one. The first fort built here by the English was not called Fort Pitt. It seems not to have borne any distinctive name. Pittsburgh, as we have said, was so called from the first; for November 26, the very day next following the occupation by the English, we find General Forbes dating a letter at Pittsburgh.* Colonel Mercer, July and September, 1759, dates from Pittsburgh, but makes no mention of Fort Pitt. General Stanwix, December 8, 1759, dates from "Camp at Pittsburgh," and speaks of "the works here," but does not mention Fort Pitt. Finally, in a letter bearing date December 24, 1759, Stanwix mentions "Fort Pitt" in the body of his letter,† and this is the first mention on record of the fort by that name. So that not until more than twelve months after the taking of Fort Duquesne do we hear any mention of Fort Pitt, and then the work afterwards to be known by that name had been carried well on towards completion. Hence it seems clear that the temporary fortification built in the winter of 1758 was known simply as the fort at Pittsburgh, or, as Stanwix termed it, the camp at Pittsburgh.

On the day following the capture of Fort Duquesne a thanksgiving service was held by the chaplain, the Rev. Charles Beatty, a Presbyterian minister.‡ This is memorable as the first sermon preached by a Protes-

* "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," vol. viii. p. 232.

† "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. iii. p. 696.

‡ Rev. Charles Beatty was grandfather of Rev. C. C. Beatty, D.D., founder of the Steubenville Female Seminary.

tant divine on the site of the city of Pittsburgh. Mr. Beatty is worthy of a more extended notice. He was a native of Ireland, and acquired a good classical education in his native country. When he came to America he was in very narrow circumstances, and was obliged to resort to peddling for a livelihood. One day passing the Rev. William Tennent's famous Log College, in Bucks County, he stopped and greeted the master in excellent Latin. Mr. Tennent was surprised; but after some conversation with the peddler, and finding him a man of fervent piety as well as of learning, he said to him: "Go and sell the contents of your pack and return immediately and study with me. It will be a sin for you to continue a peddler when you can be so much more useful in another profession." He accepted Mr. Tennent's offer, and in due time became an eminent minister.*

The present was not Mr. Beatty's first military campaign, for he had accompanied Franklin as chaplain to his force at Fort Allen in the beginning of the year 1756. Of him Franklin relates a whimsical anecdote. "We had for our chaplain," says he, "a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning and half in the evening, and I observed they were punctual in attending to receive it, upon

* "The Log College." By A. Alexander, D.D. Princeton: 1845. Page 357.

which I said to Mr. Beatty: 'It is, perhaps, beneath the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were to distribute it out just after prayers, you would have them all about you.' He liked the thought, undertook the task, and with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended. So that I think this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service."* This anecdote is very characteristic of Franklin, and gives us some little view of the man who this rough Sunday morning addressed his motley congregation among the ruins of the French stronghold.

Two days later a detachment of Pennsylvanians under Captain West, with several Indian guides, was sent off to the scene of Braddock's defeat, to gather up and inter the bones of those who fell there, so far as they could be found. In the heart of the savage wood they found them in abundance, gnawed by wolves and foxes, and covered with the dead leaves of four successive autumns. They were carefully gathered up and buried in a deep trench dug in the freezing ground.†

The Indians from the Big Beaver region gathered in at Pittsburgh, very well pleased to have got rid of the French, but greatly dissatisfied that the new-comers should remain upon the spot. "If the English would draw back over the mountain," said Ketiuscund, "they

* "Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin, written by Himself," p. 60.

† Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," vol. ii. p. 160.

would get all the other nations into their interest; but if they stayed and settled there, all the nations would be against them; and he was afraid it would be a great war, and never come to a peace again." It required a great deal of explaining and cajolery on the part of Post, Croghan, and Montour to reconcile them to the new conditions. Colonel Hugh Mercer, with a force of two hundred Virginians, a few weeks later re-enforced by fifty men under Captain Wedderholz,* was directed to hold the place. On the 3d of December Forbes left Pittsburgh for Philadelphia, being carried on a litter as he had come. He lived to reach Philadelphia, but died in the following March, and was buried in the chancel of Christ Church in that city.

Fort Duquesne had stood in the immediate angle formed by the two rivers at their confluence. The fort now built by the English under Colonel Mercer stood upon the bank of the Monongahela, at the southern end of West Street.† It was completed about the 1st of January, 1759. Colonel Mercer, in a letter dated the 8th of that month, says that the garrison then consisted of two hundred and eighty men, and that the post was capable of some defence, though huddled up in a very hasty manner, the weather being extremely severe.‡ In the summer of 1759 Pittsburgh was seriously threatened by the French. Aubry and Ligneris had collected a large force of French and Indians at Venango and Presqu' Isle; but as they were on the

* See Post's "Second Journal," December 23, 1758.

† Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," p. 78.

‡ "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," vol. viii. p. 293.

point of setting off for Pittsburgh news was brought of the movement of General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson against Niagara, and the army that had been collected to attack Pittsburgh was marched off to Niagara. Meantime the handful of men at Pittsburgh cowered behind their trifling palisade and offered up hearty prayers to the Almighty for deliverance in this hour of danger.* The defeat of the French at Niagara saved the garrison at Pittsburgh.

General John Stanwix was appointed to succeed General Forbes. About the 1st of August, 1759, he arrived in Pittsburgh, and at once set about the erection of a more formidable fortification; one that would "to latest posterity," as a writer of the day phrased it, "secure the British empire on the Ohio." This fort was called Fort Pitt. It stood just between the site of old Fort Duquesne and the small fort built by Mercer. The present line of Penn Avenue almost exactly bisected it, one salient extending across Liberty Street and nearly to the Monongahela. The redoubt, which is still standing, was within the line of circumvallation, but just outside the lower wall of the fort. Extravagant statements have been made as to the cost of Fort Pitt; it was only a moderate work, as the following description shows, and we may be sure it was built at a moderate expense.†

* See letter of John Ormsby in Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," p. 83.

† Arthur Lee, of Virginia, who visited Pittsburgh in 1784, says Fort Pitt cost the Crown six hundred pounds. This is no doubt about right. See his journal in *The Olden Time*, August, 1847.

"The work erected by General Stanwix," says Neville B. Craig, "was five-sided, though not all equal. The earth around the proposed work was dug and thrown up so as to enclose the selected position with a rampart of earth. On the two sides facing the country this rampart was supported by what military men call a revetment,—a brick-work, nearly perpendicular, supporting the rampart on the outside, and thus presenting an obstacle to the enemy not easily overcome. On the other three sides the earth in the rampart had no support, and, of course, it presented a more inclined surface to the enemy,—one which could readily be ascended. To remedy, in some degree, this defect in the work a line of pickets was fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch which would, of course, be filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage."*

Fort Pitt was a sufficient defence against Indian attacks, as was proved in the course of its history, though it could not have resisted for an hour an army provided with artillery. It was commanded by the neighboring heights, and during the siege in Pontiac's war a man was shot in the fort from a hill across the river. Yet around its walls soon sprang up a village where dwelt a motley population, and among its log cabins the Indian in his blanket and paint was a familiar object. From the very beginning Pittsburgh was a prosperous business centre. Its situation at the head of the Ohio made it the point of departure for the

* Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," p. 85.

Western country, and being upon the remote verge of civilization, it became at once the chief point of trade with the Indians and trappers of the forest. Among its citizens was Colonel William Clapham, a man distinguished in his day, who had once commanded at Fort Augusta. In April, 1761, Colonel Clapham took a census of the town of Pittsburgh. He reported one hundred and four houses and a population all told of three hundred and thirty-two souls. A couple of years later Colonel Clapham was living at Sewickley old-town, said to have been about eighteen miles east of Pittsburgh, where he met an unhappy fate.

With the fall of Quebec in September, 1759, French power in North America was destroyed. The Indians, most of whom were much attached to the French, were greatly dissatisfied with the result of the war. As they saw the Englishmen encroaching more and more upon their ancient domain their discontent increased. All that was required to bring about an uprising of the red men against the English was a competent leader, and such a leader was soon found in Pontiac. This man, a chief of the Ottawas, was shrewd, eloquent, and brave. He set about forming a secret confederacy of a number of tribes. It was designed to strike the English posts on the border simultaneously and unexpectedly. His plans were so well carried out that when, in the early summer of 1763, they made their attempt, all the posts on the frontier line fell into their hands except Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Niagara.

At Fort Pitt Captain Simeon Ecuyer was in com-

mand. In the beginning of May he learned that some rascally Indians were hanging about the fort. As the month wore on the conduct of the Indians became more suspicious. On the 27th of that month he was informed by Alexander McKee, the Indian agent, that the Mingoes and Delawares were restless and that they had sold skins to the value of three hundred pounds, with which they had purchased powder and lead. The next day McKee was sent to the Indian towns in the neighborhood to gather information, but found them all abandoned. At daybreak of the 29th three men came into Fort Pitt from Sewickley old-town, where they had been at work, and reported that in the afternoon of the preceding day the savages had killed Colonel Clapham, together with one of his men, two women, and a child. The leader of the gang was a Delaware named Wolf. The same day two soldiers were killed at the saw-mill, not far from the fort.

At this time Pittsburgh consisted of two groups of cabins, called the "upper town" and the "lower town." The latter stood near the fort; the former on the higher ground some little distance above, on the bank of the Monongahela. Some scattered houses were at a greater distance,—one Thompson living near the Monongahela half a mile away, and George Croghan about four miles up the Allegheny. On the 30th day of May the inhabitants of Pittsburgh moved into the fort, and two days later Ecuyer ordered all the "out-houses" in the town to be torn down and burned. Efforts were made to communicate with the outside world, but the messengers were fired on and compelled

to turn back. In the fort were three hundred and thirty men in all.* Of these, two hundred and fifty were soldiers, one half of them regulars and the others militia.† There were also about one hundred women and a still greater number of children. Everybody that could handle a musket was armed for the defence. They had but a small supply of provisions, and from the beginning of the siege the people were put on half rations of bread and meat. The defences of the fort were greatly strengthened. A fire-engine was constructed. A hospital was fitted up under the draw-bridge. In all points Ecuyer approved himself a most competent officer, and in his work he was ably seconded by Captain Trent, the Indian trader.

On the 2d of June, while a party was destroying the houses in the upper town, the Indians set fire to Thompson's house. On the 7th of the same month one Wilkins with his wife and child arrived from Venango. How they escaped the vigilant eyes of the savages is a mystery. Once on a similar occasion Frederick Post prayed the Lord to blind the eyes of his enemies, "as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha," that he might pass unseen. "The Lord heard my prayer," he adds. Perhaps Wilkins would have assigned his escape to the same cause. Our pious ancestors had a simple method of disposing of such difficulties. On the 9th a great smoke was seen up the river, from which it was inferred, and rightly, too,

* Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac," vol. ii. p. 11.

† Ecuyer to Bouquet, June 2, 1763, Darlington's "Fort Pitt," p. 128.

that Croghan's house was burning. Some parties who were working at a short distance from the fort were fired on by the savages, but no one was hurt. The Indians were seen skulking about, firing at any person who ventured out. On the 15th Sergeant Miller with three others went up to Grant's Hill, contrary to orders, and just as they reached the summit Miller was shot dead. The others escaped. On the 16th four Shawanese appeared on the opposite side of the Allegheny and desired to speak to McKee. He went over to them, and they assured him that the murders had been committed by the Six Nations and the Delawares.

The Indians continued to increase in numbers and in boldness. On the afternoon of the 23d of June a general assault was made upon the fort, and two men were killed. But the assailants were driven off. The next day Turtle Heart and Mamaltee approached the fort with an air of the greatest friendliness. "You must leave this fort," said Turtle Heart, "with all your women and children, and go down to the English settlements, where you will be safe. There are many bad Indians already here," he continued, "but we will protect you from them." In reply to this cajollery Ecuyer told them that he was well able to defend the fort against all the Indians in the woods, that he had abundant provisions for three years, and that three large armies were on the way, who would severely chastise the Indians. "Out of our regard to them," he wrote, "we gave them two blankets and a handkerchief out of the smallpox hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect." There was now a lull in the

proceedings for some time, though the enemy continued to hang about the place.

Meantime the three posts in Pennsylvania north of Pittsburgh had fallen into the hands of the Indians,—Presqu' Isle, June 17, Le Bœuf, June 18, and Venango a day or two before. Not a soul had escaped at Venango to tell its sad story. At the capitulation of Presqu' Isle two men darted into the forest and disappeared. One of these men, a Scotch soldier named Benjamin Gray, arrived at Fort Pitt, haggard and half starved, ten days afterwards. At Le Bœuf Ensign Price, who was in command, escaped with his small garrison into the woods under cover of the darkness. In the evening of the 25th of June two of his men reached Fort Pitt, and the following morning the ensign himself with five of his men; and in the evening of the 27th four more men and a woman from Le Bœuf came in, and with them the Scotch soldier who had escaped from Presqu' Isle. They had the good fortune to reach the fort at the time the Indians had somewhat relaxed their vigilance, and so got in unharmed.

The Indians continued about the place, even entering the ditch and approaching the foot of the glacis, and firing, as before, on any one that ventured to show himself. On the 28th of July they made a vigorous and determined assault upon the fort. It continued with more or less virulence for five days and nights. Seven of the garrison were wounded,—among them Ecuyer himself, though his wound was not serious. Twenty of the savages were killed and wounded to the

certain knowledge of the besieged, besides a number, as they believed, who were carried off by their friends. The contest raged until the afternoon of the 1st of August, when they withdrew. Large numbers of them were seen crossing the Allegheny with their luggage.

The Indians had gone off to intercept Bouquet. On the 5th of August three express riders arrived from Bouquet, whom they had left at Ligonier. As they passed Small's plantation at Turtle Creek they heard a great deal of cheering, shooting, and the ringing of bells, from which Ecuyer inferred that they meant to attack Bouquet's army. He sent off two expresses to Bouquet to apprise him of the danger. Through the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Ecuyer waited with feverish impatience, but no tidings came from Bouquet. All was quiet at Fort Pitt. Not an Indian was to be seen. But in the early morning of the 10th Miller, who was one of the expresses sent out on the 5th, returned with the news that Bouquet had been engaged for two days with the Indians, but had succeeded in beating them off. When Miller left Bouquet the latter was at Nine Mile Run. A detachment of the garrison under Captain Philips marched out to meet the troops, whom they joined at Bullitt's Hill. The latter was no doubt the hill whereon Captain Bullitt, of the Virginians, was stationed at the time of Grant's defeat. It was about two and a half miles from Fort Pitt. The attack upon Bouquet was begun on the 5th of August, at a point about half a mile east of Bushy Run. From the best accounts at hand Ecuyer sums up the battle in a few lines. "Our advanced guard," he says, "discovered the Indians where they were lying

in ambush and fired on them about three o'clock in the afternoon; this brought on a general engagement, which continued through the next day and night. Our people behaved with the greatest bravery, and also the Indians, who often advanced within a few steps of our people. The action continued doubtful till the enemy by a stratagem was drawn into an ambuscade, where they were entirely routed, leaving a great many of their people dead on the spot. Our loss in this affair is about fifty killed and sixty wounded. It is thought by our people the enemy left as many."*

The engagement which Ecuyer thus sums up so briefly was one of the most determined and sanguinary battles ever waged by the unaided red men against the white. Bouquet had lightened his march by leaving his heavier baggage at Ligonier to be brought on more leisurely, and with a train of three hundred and forty pack-horses carrying flour and other supplies for Fort Pitt, he pushed forward. In the afternoon of the 5th of August, when he was within about twenty-four miles of Pittsburgh, suddenly the war-whoop was raised and a furious fire from an unseen foe was poured upon his front. The troops fell back and were soon encircled by the enemy, who kept behind the trees. Bouquet's men made repeated charges upon them, when they instantly fled, but immediately retraced their steps as the soldiers returned to their places. "They would never stand their ground when attacked," says Parkman, "but vanish at the first gleam

* Darlington's "Fort Pitt," p. 107. Ecuyer's journal and letters of this time are published in that valuable work.

of the levelled bayonet, only to appear again the moment the danger was past." Thus the day wore on. Many of the soldiers had fallen, killed or wounded. The rest were wearied with the heat and with their unavailing efforts and perishing for want of water. It looked as though the dreadful fate of Braddock was to befall Bouquet. Night put a temporary stop to the contest, but the soldiers could get but little rest. At the early dawn the conflict was renewed. The tactics of the previous day were again pursued. It was manifest that some different method of dealing with the foe must be adopted if a man of the whole army was to escape. At length it was seen that by a certain movement a large body of the enemy might be taken at advantage. The movement was executed. Two companies of Highlanders in front were ordered to fall back. The Indians, taking this movement to be the beginning of a retreat, pressed eagerly forward to what they thought was a certain victory. By a quick detour to the left through a hollow unobserved by the Indians, the two companies suddenly appeared upon the right flank of the enemy and poured in a most destructive fire. For a moment the savages hesitated, then broke and ran for their lives, closely pursued by the infuriated soldiers. They were not able to make any further stand. Sixty Indian corpses were counted upon the ground after the fight. Bouquet's loss in all was one hundred and fifteen men. Many of the pack-horses had been killed or had broken away during the battle and a good part of the stores had to be destroyed. No time was lost. The army, as soon as possible, re-

sumed the march, halting for a short time for rest and refreshment at Bushy Run. Here the savages made a feint at renewing the fight, but they were soon driven away. After this, except for occasional scattered shots from the lurking enemy, the march of the army was unmolested.

By the defeat of the Indians at Bushy Run and the arrival of Bouquet's army at Fort Pitt the siege was broken up. They did not return to the attack, though on the 12th of August they were seen, says Ecuyer, "on a hill on the opposite side of the river looking at us." But as a body they soon disappeared in the wilds beyond the Allegheny, though individuals and small parties lingered about for some weeks, and on the 19th of September a Highland soldier was shot and scalped by three Indians at the bullock-pen, not far away.

Bouquet's arrival was timely. He brought not only active help but food. Famine was close at hand in Fort Pitt. The abundance of provisions of which Ecuyer had boasted to the Indians was merely brag. In his letter to Bouquet, written on the 2d of August, he says, "I have four legs of beef, and no flour." This was little for a population of five or six hundred souls. If the siege could have been protracted but for a day or two longer Ecuyer would have been compelled to capitulate, which meant the probable murder of the whole garrison, or attempt the hazardous alternative of cutting his way through the enemy. But during the absence of the Indians at Bushy Run the people of the garrison were able to go into their fields of spelt, which was now ripe, and the gardens about the fort,

and from these sources some slight additions were made to their meagre supplies.

Bouquet, at Pittsburgh, desired to pursue the marauding and murderous savages to their lair in the distant forests; but he could get nothing done in the matter until late in the fall of the succeeding year. In the mean time he strengthened Fort Pitt and erected the redoubt which is still standing, the sole relic on the ground of the famous frontier post. It bears upon its front the stone tablet placed there by the gallant commandant, with the inscription:

A * D.

1764

Coll—Bouquet

In the autumn of this year he found himself in command of a sufficient force, and leaving Fort Pitt in the early part of October, he pushed his way westward. His movements were slow but considerably taken, and in the course of ten days he had penetrated to the heart of the Indian country. The savages saw the futility of resistance, and at the summons of Bouquet the chiefs of all the neighboring tribes met him in council on the bank of the Muskingum. The grand result of the expedition was that peace and tranquillity were restored to the borders without bloodshed, and Bouquet returned to Pittsburgh with several hundred happy men, women, and children whom he had received out of heathen bondage and restored to the blessings of Christian homes and civilization.*

* "Colonel Henry Bouquet and his Campaigns." By Rev. Cyrus Cort. P. 72.

CHAPTER V

PIONEER LIFE

OF the history of Pittsburgh we get only occasional glimpses for many years immediately following the events related in the preceding chapter. Little more than a military post on the frontier, in times of peace its annals were necessarily dull. There was no local newspaper to record the trifling occurrences of the day. There was no mail service, and few letters were written, and still fewer have been preserved.

The town as it stood in the spring of the year 1764 had been largely destroyed by command of Captain Ecuyer, and what he had allowed to stand had been destroyed by the Indians. A party which was sent out of the fort after the siege found the house of George Croghan burned, as well as all the houses between. It is not likely that a house was left standing in Pittsburgh.

In 1764, immediately after the siege, Colonel John Campbell laid out that part of Pittsburgh which is bounded by Water Street and Second Avenue and Ferry and Market Streets, comprising four squares. Colonel Campbell's name is of frequent occurrence in the transactions in this locality at that period. He afterwards went to Kentucky, where he figured even more prominently than here. Under what authority or instructions he proceeded in laying out the town

we do not know; but no doubt his work was fully authorized, as in the subsequent survey and plan of the town it was recognized and adopted.

The first descriptive notice we have of the town after its reconstruction is from the pen of the Rev. Charles Beatty. This gentleman will be recalled as the worthy chaplain of Forbes's army. He now came by appointment of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia to visit the frontier settlements and discover the religious state and needs of the inhabitants. He was accompanied upon this mission by the Rev. Mr. Duffield. They arrived at Pittsburgh on Friday evening, September 5, 1766. On the following Sunday Mr. Beatty preached in the garrison by invitation of the chaplain, the Rev. Mr. McLagan, while Mr. Duffield discoursed to the people who lived "in some kind of a town without the fort." The next day Mr. Beatty crossed the Monongahela and ascended the hill opposite the town. From this hill, he says, the garrison was supplied with coals. He notes that the coal in the hill was then burning and had been burning for almost a twelvemonth, the coal having caught fire through the carelessness of the workmen. "The earth in some places," he remarks, "is so warm that we could hardly bear to stand on it: At one place where the smoke came up we opened an hole in the earth till it was so hot as to burn paper thrown into it: The steam that came out was so strong of sulphur that we could scarce bear it. We found pieces of matter there, some of which appeared to be sulphur, others nitre, and some a mixture of both. If this strata be large in

this mountain, it may become a volcano.”* Mr. Duffield preached in the town again on Tuesday evening, and the good missionaries comforted themselves with the belief that their labors here had “not been in vain.”

Our next notice of Pittsburgh is by a no less distinguished visitor than Colonel George Washington. He arrived October 17, 1770. Twelve years had passed since he entered the place with the van of Forbes's army. In the mean time he had been living quietly on his estate at Mount Vernon, little dreaming of the great part that he should be called on to act in the near future. He was now accompanied by Dr. Craik, Colonel Crawford, and some others. Colonel Crawford was a gallant and capable man. He was afterwards an officer in the Revolutionary War; and in an expedition against the Sandusky Indians in 1782 he was taken prisoner and cruelly burned at the stake. Dr. Craik is also noteworthy. He was the life-long friend of Washington and his physician in his final illness nearly thirty years later.

The little town that Washington found at the forks of the Ohio was built mainly on the plan laid out by Colonel Campbell. The most pretentious house in the place was no doubt the inn kept at this time by Samuel Semple. It was a two-story double house of hewn logs, and is said to have been the first building in the town that was roofed with shingles. It stood on the

* “The Journal of a Two Months' Tour,” etc. By Charles Beatty, A.M. London: 1768. P. 31. A very rare and curious book.

upper corner of Water and Ferry Streets. It was built about the year 1764, probably by Colonel George Morgan. Long afterwards it was known as the "Virginia House." No relic of it remains upon the ground. Washington spoke of it as "a very good house of public entertainment."

What was called the town, he says, lay about three hundred yards from the fort. It consisted of about twenty log houses ranged in streets near the Monongahela, and inhabited chiefly by Indian traders. The population was from one hundred to one hundred and twenty, exclusive of the soldiers in the fort. The garrison at the time of Washington's visit consisted of two companies of Royal Irish under the command of Captain Edmundson. On the day following his arrival Washington dined in the fort with Colonel George Croghan and the officers of the garrison. The next day he dined at the house of Colonel Croghan, who, in 1766, had re-established himself on the Allegheny. At Croghan's house he met the White Mingo and other chiefs of the Six Nations, who desired to greet him and to assure him that they wished the people of Virginia to consider them as friends and brothers, "linked together in one chain." After dinner he returned to the town, accompanied by Croghan, who intended to go with him part of the way down the river. The following day, which was the 20th of October, having secured a large canoe, "with sufficient store of provision and necessaries," the company set off down the Ohio. On the 21st of November, just a month afterwards, Washington returned to Pittsburgh and re-

mained until the 23d. On the next day after his return he invited the officers of the garrison and some other gentlemen to dinner at Semple's. This dinner was in liquidation of the attentions he had received a few weeks before. No doubt it was a season of great old-fashioned, high-toned hospitality and good cheer. The following morning the distinguished visitors mounted their horses and rode away.*

Colonel Croghan well deserves some notice here. He was an Irishman by birth, and came to America about the year 1743. In 1749 he was appointed one of the justices of the peace for Lancaster County. He embarked in the Indian trade, and soon became one of the best known and most thriving traders in the colony. As early as 1748 he had a trading-house at Logstown, and soon afterwards at other points in the remote wilderness. For many years he took a leading part in the various public transactions with the Indians, and by his good sense and honorable methods of dealing with the red men he averted much bloodshed and horror from the colonists. He was one of the few bright exceptions to the majority of Indian traders, who are described by Proud as "the vilest and most abandoned part of the community," and who by their nefarious practices did much to bring about the troubles between the white settlers and the savages. Through all the difficulties of the French and Indian War Croghan took a conspicuous part. He continued to reside for some years on the bank of the Allegheny. "The history

* See Washington's journal in *The Olden Time*, September, 1846.

of George Croghan, the Indians' friend and generous protector," says Darlington, "is the history of the Indians of Pennsylvania,—their conferences, treaties, and treatment by the white usurper."* He died in the year 1782.

The majority of the houses at Pittsburgh in the times of which we write were likely only such log cabins as were common on the frontier. They were usually of round logs, roofed with clapboards, which were held in place by slender poles extending lengthwise of the house from end to end. The crevices between the logs were filled with clay and chips of wood called "chinking." Glass was never found in the windows, but over certain openings between the logs oiled paper was pasted, which admitted a dubious light. An immense fireplace built of stones on the outer side of the cabin, but opening into it, occupied the greater part of one end of the house. The chimney was composed of sticks of wood well plastered with clay. In the winter-time fires from great logs of wood roared up the wide-throated chimney and aided in lighting up the room. The door of heavy boards swung on immense hinges of hickory and was secured by a wooden latch. A thong of leather attached to this latch passed through a small hole in the door just above, by means of which the latch was raised. When the string was pulled in the door was effectually secured against all intrusion. Hence the saying, "The latch-string is out," was an expression of welcome. In the construction of such a cabin a nail was never used.

* Darlington's "Christopher Gist's Journals," p. 190.

Overhead was usually a loft, access to which was commonly by a ladder, though sometimes only by a series of wooden pins inserted one above another in the logs of the wall. The floor was formed of puncheons or heavy slabs of wood, the upper surface smoothed with the axe and the curved side laid upon the ground. The interior furnishment of the house was in keeping with the building. A rude table made with the hatchet and auger, a few rough stools of the same style of workmanship, though sometimes only blocks of wood furnished seats for the family, and a bedstead built firmly against the wall, were the principal articles of furniture. The household dishes were usually wooden plates and platters, drinking vessels made of dried gourd shells, and an iron pot. A tin drinking cup was a rare and valuable possession. Spoons were of wood and of horn. Hunting- and clasp-knives were used for table cutlery; and the saying that "fingers were made before forks" was justified by the common practice among the border cabins. Plates of Delft-ware conferred distinction upon a family; but the backwoodsman did not approve of them, as they were apt to dull the edge of his scalping-knife. For the most part the woods, the small cultivated patches in the clearings, and the streams supplied food for the family. Sugar of the most palatable kind was made from the sap of the maple-tree, and whiskey in those unexcised days flowed almost as freely as water. Some simple groceries were almost indispensable, and these could be obtained usually only with difficulty. In the autumn the settlers gathered

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together the skins and furs that they had procured through the year, and joining company for great security, with their pack-horses and provision for man and beast on the way, they set off in a caravan for the eastern towns, where they exchanged their peltry for such things as were needful. The Indian traders also carried into the backwoods many of the supplies required by the settlers. Salt was an indispensable article, and in some parts of the country commanded most exorbitant price. Dr. Doddridge, who lived on the Panhandle of Virginia, says that the common price of a bushel of salt was a good cow and calf; and so precious was the salt esteemed that while the process of measuring it out was going on no one was allowed to walk heavily across the floor for fear of spilling any of it.*

The clothing of the pioneer family was almost entirely a home product. In every clearing was a patch of flax, and wherever practicable a few sheep were kept. The fabric of the clothing was spun and generally woven by the good housewife, who also fashioned the garments. Linsey and coarse linen formed the common apparel of the women and children, while the tanned or untanned skins of wild animals constituted an important element in the dress of the men.

The settlers in a garrison town like Pittsburgh of course had many advantages over their contemporaries out on the border. Though we have no record of the earlier years of the city's history, there were probab-

* Doddridge's "Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars etc., p. 147.

among the cluster of cabins which Washington found here the unpretentious shops of a few of the more necessary artisans,—a gunsmith, a weaver, a breeches-maker, and a small store or two for the sale of such goods as the traders carried into the wilderness. The presence of the garrison imparted to the people a sense of security, while the aristocratic British officers in their red coats and gold lace gave a certain *ton* to the little society that was impressive. We may be sure that Semple's good house of public entertainment was the scene of many jolly carousals.

The main thoroughfare between Pittsburgh and the settlements on the eastern side of the Allegheny Mountains was Forbes's Road. It led across the flat from Fort Pitt in a line more or less conforming to the present Liberty Avenue, passing a little north of Wilkinsburg, then over the hills and through the defiles in a direction a little south of east past the battle-field of Bushy Run to Hannastown, and on to Fort Ligonier. It lay through an almost unbroken wilderness. But few clearings or settlements had been made along this line of communication prior to the year 1775. As early as 1764 one Small seems to have made a settlement where the road crossed Turtle Creek, and Andrew Byerly was living at Bushy Run, midway between Pittsburgh and Fort Ligonier. A few years later the Widow Myers kept a famous hostelry at Turtle Creek, and Washington dined there on the day he left Pittsburgh on his return to Virginia. The thoroughfare was originally a wagon road, but as it received no attention or repairs, it soon fell into a bad

condition, and was so overgrown with bushes as to be impassable except for pedestrians and horsemen. The vast uninhabited wilderness and the thickets of underwood long remained as Forbes had found them.

By proclamation of the king in the year 1763 a line was drawn around the head-waters of all the rivers in the United States which flow into the Atlantic Ocean, and the colonists were forbidden to settle to the west of it. All the valley from the Great Lakes to West Florida and from the proclamation line to the Mississippi was set apart for the Indians. The country beyond the Mississippi was Spanish territory. Pittsburgh was beyond this line of demarcation and in the Indian country. The king's decree was little regarded. "The hardy frontiersman of 1763," says McMaster, "cared no more for the king's proclamation than he did for the bark of the wolf at his cabin door. The ink with which the document was written had not dried before emigrants from Maryland and Virginia and Pennsylvania were hurrying into the valley of the Monongahela."

The Indians complained bitterly of these encroachments, and the royal authority, the authority of the colonial governors, and of General Gage, the British commander-in-chief in the colonies, were exerted in vain; and in February, 1768, by act of Parliament, even the penalty of death without benefit of clergy was denounced against those who should enter the country of the savages, or who, having already settled there, should remain. But all efforts of government seemed to be useless. The numbers were too great.

It was impossible to inflict the death penalty upon a whole population. Many of the settlers were removed by force; but as soon as the soldiers had returned to their garrison at Fort Pitt the trespassers were back again on their clearings. In the spring of 1768 a conference was held at Pittsburgh with the chiefs of the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawanese, Muncys, and Mohicans, which, however, did little to remedy the grievances. It was clear that but one thing could be done in the premises, and that was to purchase the lands from the Indians. Accordingly, in October, 1768, a council was held at Fort Stanwix, New York, with the Iroquois tribes by Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent, and commissioners from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The main result of this conference was that articles were signed by which the Indian title was extinguished to all lands which they claimed lying eastward of the Allegheny River as far north as Kittanning and southward and eastward of the Ohio down to the mouth of the Tennessee River, "and extending eastward from every part of the said line as far as the lands between the said line and the purchased lands or settlements." The consideration received by the Indians was, as Griffis remarks, "ten thousand dollars and unlimited rum."* By the terms of this treaty the territory west of the Allegheny and north and west of the Ohio remained "the Indian country."

But an individual who was destined to be for some years more troublesome to the peace of the Pennsyl-

* Griffis's "Life of Sir William Johnson," p. 193.

vanian than either Frenchman or Indian was at the door. This was the Virginian. Under the charter of 1609, as has been already remarked, Virginia claimed that part of Western Pennsylvania in which Pittsburgh lay, and the region was embraced in what they called the District of West Augusta. This claim gave rise to a long and bitter contention.

In the year 1772 the British government determined to abandon Fort Pitt as a military station. By order of General Gage, therefore, Major Edmundson, the commandant at the fort, on the 10th of October, in that year, in consideration of the sum of fifty pounds, New York currency, sold to Alexander Ross and William Thompson "all the pickets, bricks, stones, timber, and iron which are now in the buildings or walls of the said fort and in the redoubts." A corporal and three men were left to look after certain property which belonged to the government, and Major Edmundson and the garrison marched off to other quarters.

The people of Pittsburgh were much discomposed by the sale of the fort and the withdrawal of the garrison. A remonstrance was sent to General Gage, and among other complaints it was stated that the sale had been of the nature of a private transaction, and not a public one. If what was further charged was true, Major Edmundson had good reason to make the transaction a private one as far as possible; for it was charged that he had received a present of fifty pounds from the purchasers, and that Ensign Prideaux and Surgeon Hand, the two witnesses to the sale, had also been handsomely remembered by the same parties. In

reply, Gage acknowledged that the sale had been irregular, but refused to rescind it. In a letter to Governor Penn he says, in regard to the abandonment of the fort: "It is natural for the people near Fort Pitt to solicit the continuance of the garrison, as well for their personal security as obtaining many other advantages; but no government can undertake to erect forts for the advantage of forty or fifty people." This seems a strange estimate of the population of the place. The general adds that the fort was comparatively useless, as it could afford no protection to people at any distance from it, and could not cover or protect the frontiers, as was "fully evinced in the last Indian war."*

To what extent the fort was destroyed in consequence of this sale we have no means of knowing, though it must have been considerable, for Ross sold some part of the materials and built several houses out of a part. Thompson does not appear any further in the transaction; but in December, 1775, Ross presented a petition to the Virginia Convention asking damages to the amount of fourteen hundred and eighty-two pounds seventeen shillings and two pence for the old fort which the Virginia authorities had seized. Of this large claim he was allowed only one hundred and seven pounds one shilling and nine pence, but which, taken in connection with the houses he had built of a portion of the materials, and the further fact that he still owned "two redoubts and eight stacks of chimneys," shows that Ross had not made a bad speculation.†

* "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. iv. p. 457.

† *The Olden Time*, February, 1847.

That part of 'Allegheny County which' lies east of the Allegheny River for some time had been included in Cumberland County, afterwards, by subdivision of Cumberland County, 1771, in Bedford County, and again, by subdivision of Bedford County, February 26, 1773, in Westmoreland County. It was partly in the region claimed by Virginia as the District of West Augusta.

On the old Forbes Road, about thirty miles east of Pittsburgh, was then living a man named Robert Hanna. The act by which Westmoreland County was organized directed the courts to be held at Hanna's house until a court-house should be built. At once a struggle sprang up between Pittsburgh and what came to be known as Hannastown as to which should become the county-seat. It seems impossible that any serious rivalry should ever have existed between Pittsburgh and such a place as Hannastown. But the latter had the great advantage of a central position; besides, Hanna was somewhat of a politician. Of the five trustees named in the act to locate the county-seat and erect the public buildings were Hanna himself and one Joseph Erwin. Hanna rented his house to Erwin to be kept as a tavern. Thus two of the trustees were committed in advance in favor of Hanna's place as the seat of justice for the new county, and, perhaps by methods as well understood then as now, one of the remaining number was secured to go with them. The other two trustees, one of whom was Arthur St. Clair, voted in favor of Pittsburgh; but the majority vote prevailed, and Hanna's place was chosen. The site

thus selected was named Hannastown, and it suddenly experienced, as was to have been expected, an era of great prosperity. Two years later Hannastown had twenty-five or thirty log cabins, and was about as large a town as Pittsburgh.

The justices of the new county were William Crawford, Æneas Mackey, Devereux Smith, and Andrew McFarlane. Justice Crawford was Colonel Crawford, whom we have already mentioned as one of Washington's companions in his Western tour. Though not so designated or appointed by any law, he came to be recognized as the chief justice. Why this distinction was so generally conferred on him is a difficult matter to determine. He was a Virginian, and had settled on the southern side of the Youghiogeny. All his predilections were in favor of Virginia. He held the title to his lands and his military commissions under Virginia, and was personally interested in the claims of that colony. But he enjoyed the distinction of chief justice of Westmoreland County until 1775, when he was ousted from his position by order of the Council of Pennsylvania for his undisguised partiality for Virginia in the controversy of that time.*

* George Dallas Albert in Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 1154.

CHAPTER VI

TROUBLE WITH DUNMORE

AMONG the gentlemen who sat down to dinner with Washington at Semple's tavern was a very clever man, Dr. John Connolly, a nephew of Colonel Croghan. Washington was much pleased with him. He had travelled extensively through the Western country, had been nearly four hundred miles up the Shawnee River, and now entertained the company with a glowing description of the lands and climate of that region. "He wished for nothing more," says Washington, "than to induce one hundred families to go there and live, that he might be among them." Subsequent events gave the good people of Pittsburgh ample reason to wish that he had gone there and stayed.

In the year 1772, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, was appointed governor of Virginia. Lord Dunmore was imperious, arbitrary, and unscrupulous. He had scarcely settled himself in his chair of office before he began to press the claims of Virginia to Western Pennsylvania. Many of the settlers in the disputed territory were Virginians. They loved Virginia. They despised Pennsylvania. In Dr. Connolly Dunmore found a ready tool. Connolly was himself a Pennsylvanian, a native of Lancaster County; but he chose to throw in his lot with the Virginians, and, like all renegades, he was more zealous in the cause he had espoused than those to the manner born.

Accordingly, about the end of the year 1773, Connolly came up from Virginia under authority of Dunmore. In January, 1774, he seized the ruins of Fort Pitt and erected a small stockade, which he named Fort Dunmore, and issued proclamations in the name of the governor of Virginia, calling upon the people to obey that authority. Arthur St. Clair, who represented the interests of the Penns in this region, had him arrested and thrown into jail at Hannastown. He was not held in durance long, however, but gave bail for his appearance at the next term of court, and was released. He returned to Virginia; but when the session of court opened at Hannastown in April, 1774, Connolly was on hand with a force of one hundred and fifty men, armed and in all the panoply of war. He denied the authority of the court, and put a stop to the proceedings; and on the 9th day of April, at Pittsburgh, he arrested the three justices, Mackey, Smith, and McFarlane, and sent them off under guard to Staunton, in Virginia. Before reaching the place of their destination, however, Mackey got permission to go by way of Williamsburg to see Lord Dunmore, and after some conversation with him his lordship wrote to the sheriff asking him to permit the prisoners to return home. Armed with this letter, Mackey hastened to Staunton, when the prisoners were set free. They returned to their homes in Pittsburgh about the 5th of May.

Connolly's proceedings called out a letter from Governor Penn to Lord Dunmore, in which he directed attention to Connolly's performances, and set forth what he claimed were the boundaries of Pennsylvania in the

disputed region. "The western extent of the Province of Pennsylvania," he says, "by the royal grant is five degrees of longitude from the river Delaware, which is its eastern boundary." From the two hundred and thirty-third milestone on the line run by Mason and Dixon in 1763-1767 "a north line hath been since carefully run and measured to the Ohio," he continues, "and from thence up to Fort Pitt." From the various data the most exact calculations had been made by several competent mathematicians, and they all agree, he says, that Pittsburgh "is near six miles eastward of the western extent of the Province."*

To this letter Dunmore made reply, March 3, 1774, in which he disputes the boundary-lines as laid down by Governor Penn, and resents with great spirit the arrest of Connolly, and demands the dismissal of St. Clair from office, unless, indeed, the latter can prevail by proper submission on Mr. Connolly "to demand his pardon of me."† Governor Penn, however, declined to dismiss St. Clair; and as it does not appear that St. Clair ever attempted to make any kind of submission to Connolly, it is likely he died at last without the benefit of Lord Dunmore's "pardon." In the beginning of May James Tilghman and Andrew Allen were appointed commissioners on the part of Pennsylvania to confer with the governor of Virginia in regard to the points in dispute. But nothing came of it. Dunmore was haughty and persistent. The boundaries of

* "Colonial Records," vol. x. p. 149.

† Ibid., p. 156.

Pennsylvania, he insisted, were on the north a straight line from the Delaware River along the forty-second parallel westward five degrees, on the south a straight line westward from the circle drawn at the distance of twelve miles from Newcastle to a meridian line which should pass through the western extremity of the northern boundary-line; that meridian line being, as he says, "the limits of longitude mentioned in the royal grant, and no other, as it appears to me."* It is a remarkable fact that Governor Penn's proposition gave to Virginia more than she claimed; for a line conforming to the Delaware in every part drawn at the distance of five degrees to the westward of that river would have fallen at one point as far eastward as Latrobe, and would have left Pittsburgh ten miles over the border in Virginia. On the other hand, Dunmore's proposition would have given Pennsylvania far more than she demanded; the boundary-lines as he described them being nearly the same as those at present established,—so little did the parties to the dispute understand the matter.

But while Penn and Dunmore were arguing the question on paper Connolly was carrying things with a high hand about Pittsburgh. He seized the property of the people, and so dragooned and oppressed them that many families returned to the eastern side of the mountains to escape his tyranny. By midsummer his oppression had become such that the Pennsylvanians in Pittsburgh entertained the scheme of abandoning the place in a body and establishing themselves else-

* "Colonial Records," vol. x. p. 184.

where. One proposition was to erect a stockade on the Forbes Road about Turtle Creek, and another was to build a town at Kittanning. The communication with Philadelphia from the latter point it was thought would in time become very easy, and might be done with very little land carriage, as there was an old trading path from there to Frankstown, on the Juniata, and another to the head of the West Branch of the Susquehanna.*

Dunmore endeavored to enforce his pretensions to the disputed region by holding courts of justice for the county of West Augusta at Pittsburgh. The first court convened on the 21st of February, 1775. It continued in session four days, and then adjourned to Staunton. Courts were also held in May and September of that year. The regular Virginia courts continued to be held at Pittsburgh for West Augusta County until November 30, 1776. The territory was then divided into three counties and called Ohio, Yohogania, and Monongalia. Pittsburgh was in Yohogania County, which embraced the greater portions of the present counties of Allegheny and Washington. The courts of this county were held regularly until the 28th of August, 1780. They were sometimes held in Pittsburgh, sometimes in or near the present town of Washington, but the greater portion of the time on the farm of Andrew Heath, on the Monongahela River, near the present line between Allegheny and

* Arthur St. Clair to Governor Penn, July 22, 1774, in "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. iv. p. 551.

Washington Counties, where a log court-house and jail were erected.*

Not content with plunging Pennsylvania and Virginia into strife with each other, Dunmore and Connelly seemed bent on bringing on a war between the settlers and the Indians. It required all the skill and diplomacy of Penn and St. Clair to placate the savages and prevent an outbreak. But Dunmore and his accomplice at length succeeded in irritating the red men into taking up the hatchet against the Virginians. The struggle that ensued is known in history as Dunmore's War. It was marked in its course by the massacres at Captina and Yellow Creek and the bloody battle of Point Pleasant, and has been made memorable by the speech of Logan, the chief of the Mingoes. General Lewis had marched across the country to Point Pleasant, on the Ohio River. Here, on the 10th day of October, 1774, he engaged the Indians under Cornstalk, the chief of the Shawanese. In the battle the Virginians lost eighty-seven killed and one hundred and forty wounded. The Indians were completely defeated. "Between sunrise and sunset," says Cooke, "Lewis and his Virginians had put an end to the long drama of horror."†

Dunmore was to have co-operated with Lewis, but failed to be at hand. He assembled his forces at Pittsburgh to the number of about one thousand men in the middle of September, and here providing canoes

* "The Judiciary of Allegheny County." By Judge J. W. F. White. P. 9.

† John Esten Cooke's "Virginia," p. 425.

and keel-boats he descended the Ohio. Instead of proceeding to join Lewis at Point Pleasant, he disembarked some distance above and marched to the Indian town of Chillicothe, on the Scioto. Instead of attacking the Indians he entered into some composition with them. He has been charged with treachery towards the Virginians. After the battle of Point Pleasant he made a treaty of peace with the Indians at Camp Charlotte, in November, 1774.* At the conclusion of Dunmore's War Connolly returned promptly to the scene of his former exploits in Pennsylvania. In November of this year, and again in February, 1775, he appeared at Hannastown with an armed force, and released from confinement certain prisoners who were detained there. But the reign of Dunmore and Connolly was drawing to a close. The conduct of the former had become so odious to the patriotic people of Virginia that on the night of June 7, 1775, he was compelled to seek safety on board the British man-of-war "Fowey," which was lying in the York River. He never returned to Williamsburg. In the following November Connolly was arrested at Fredericktown for treasonable practices. By order of Congress he was sent to Philadelphia for safe-keeping. He was detained in captivity until the winter of 1780, when he was released by exchange. After the Revolution he resided in Canada.

Though Dunmore had abandoned the field, Virginia still asserted her claims to the western part of Pennsylvania. In August, 1775, Captain John Neville

* Doddridge's "Notes," etc., p. 237.

was ordered by the Virginia Convention to march his company of one hundred men and occupy Fort Pitt. They reached the place and took possession of the fort on the 11th of September, much to the surprise of the inhabitants. The courts of Yohogania County continued to be held, as we have seen, for a number of years. All the functions of government, civil and military, were exercised by Virginia in this region from 1776 to 1780. It was to all intents and purposes an integral part of Virginia, and senators and delegates to the Virginia Legislature were chosen here as in any other part of that colony.

But the Penns did not relinquish their claims to the district. They struggled to maintain their power over this territory through the Westmoreland County organization. West of the Monongahela, however, except in a few localities along the shore of the river and in the southeastern corner of Greene County, Pennsylvania did not venture to exercise any authority.*

The pressure of events was now appealing to a larger patriotism, and in the presence of the common enemy both Pennsylvania and Virginia were willing to lose sight, if possible, of their local bickerings. Several attempts were made from time to time to arrange the vexatious question of the boundary-line. Neither side, however, was willing to yield any material point. But in 1779 both parties agreed to a joint commission to determine the boundary. The commissioners met in Baltimore, and on the 31st of August, 1779, they agreed "to extend Mason and Dixon's line due west

* Veech's "The Monongahela of Old," p. 254.

five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the river Delaware, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian, drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern limit of said State, should be the western boundary of Pennsylvania forever." The agreement of the commissioners was ratified by Pennsylvania in November, 1779, and by Virginia a little more reluctantly in June, 1780. And thus ended the long and bitter boundary dispute between the two colonies. Pennsylvania had good reason to be satisfied with the terms.

But entire peace did not come at once. Many of the settlers who found themselves thus brought into the fold of Pennsylvania possessed in full measure the Virginian contempt for the Quaker State, and resisted strenuously their transfer. They appealed to Congress for relief, but that body gave no heed to them. They then agitated the formation of a new State consisting of parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Virginia, with the seat of government at Pittsburgh. The government of Pennsylvania was forced to use all its power to repress this movement, and by an act passed in December, 1782, declared all such attempts to be treason.*

By the final adjustment of the boundary-lines Pittsburgh found herself again in Westmoreland County. Yohogania County had disappeared forever from the map of Pennsylvania. The people of Westmoreland County were distinguished for their patriotism. At Hannastown, on the 16th of May, 1775, more than a

* Veech's "The Monongahela of Old," p. 257.

year before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed by Congress at Philadelphia, a convention of the people of Westmoreland was held and a series of patriotic resolutions were adopted, one of which reads as follows: "That should our country be invaded by a foreign enemy, or should troops be sent from Great Britain to enforce the late arbitrary acts of its Parliament, we will cheerfully submit to military discipline, and to the utmost of our power resist them and oppose them, or either of them, and will coincide with any plan that may be formed for the defence of America in general, or Pennsylvania in particular." This was the boldest and most direct notice that had yet been served upon the British government, and entitles the people of Western Pennsylvania to a top line on the historic page. In a convention of the citizens of the county on such an occasion, we may be sure that delegates from so important a point as Pittsburgh were not wanting. It is to be regretted that the names of the prime movers in this memorable convention have not been preserved.

CHAPTER VII

IN THE REVOLUTION

THE battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill had been fought, and Washington had taken command of the American army, when Captain Neville and his Virginians entered Fort Pitt. It had evidently been the design of Dunmore and Connolly to get this important post into a shape that it might serve the cause of the king to good purpose; but their treachery to the colonies had been detected in time, and the fort was in safe-keeping.

During the greater part of the Revolutionary struggle affairs were quiet at Pittsburgh. A treaty of peace had been made under the auspices of Colonel Morgan, the government agent at Pittsburgh, with the principal tribes of Indians in the neighborhood, though the border was sadly harassed by some of the disaffected tribes. Henry Hamilton, the English commandant at Detroit, distinguished himself for inhumanity by offering a reward for scalps but nothing for prisoners.

On the 1st of June, 1777, Brigadier-General Edward Hand arrived and assumed command at Fort Pitt. Hand desired to carry the war into the enemy's country, but his efforts to raise a sufficient force for this purpose were in vain. Local and personal jealousies had much to do in preventing this step. General Hand was a good officer, but he was able to do but little. He was pleased to find himself able even to "assist the inhabitants to stand on the defensive."

In March, 1778, Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott, and Simon Girty left Fort Pitt and went over to the enemy. Their defection was a serious matter to the Americans, because of their intimate knowledge of the country and their influence with the Indians. They were soon distinguished for their virulence and energy against their former friends and comrades. It is not to be understood that these men cast off all their claims to civilization and assumed to be savages; they were simply Tories, men who preferred their loyalty to the king to independence. There were thousands of men all over the country just like them.

In May, 1778, Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh was sent out to take the place of General Hand, who had asked to be transferred to that part of the army which was directly under Washington's command. McIntosh, in the early fall of the same year, built a fort on the right bank of the Ohio, just below the mouth of the Beaver River. It was named Fort McIntosh, and thither the head-quarters of the Western army were removed. From this point in November, 1778, McIntosh set out with a force of about thirteen hundred men against Detroit. He proceeded to the Tuscarawas, a distance of about seventy miles, but for want of certain supplies, which should have been forwarded, he was compelled to relinquish his purpose for the present. He built a fort on the Tuscarawas, which was named Fort Laurens. He left there Colonel John Gibson with one hundred and fifty men. Upon his return to Fort McIntosh he discharged the militia, who numbered not less than one thousand

men. The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, a choice body of men mainly from Westmoreland County, had been assigned to Pittsburgh. This regiment was under Colonel Daniel Brodhead. Stephen Bayard was the lieutenant-colonel. Originally the regiment was commanded by Colonel Æneas Mackey, but Colonel Mackey died in service, in February, 1777. To the Eighth Pennsylvania was added the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. In April, 1779, McIntosh retired from the command of the Western troops, and Colonel Brodhead was appointed to succeed him.

Brodhead was born in the State of New York perhaps about the year 1725,* but in his infancy his parents removed to Dansville, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. From his youth he was noted for his prowess in dealing with the savages of the border. He entered the service of the colonies at the breaking out of the Revolution, and upon the death of Colonel Mackey he was appointed to the command of the Eighth Pennsylvania. Brodhead had fought gallantly under Washington at the battle of Long Island and elsewhere.

Colonel Brodhead was a brave and enterprising officer. He sent out various expeditions against the hostile savages. One of these, which he himself headed, left Pittsburgh on the 11th day of August, 1779. It numbered six hundred and five men, rank and file. In the Allegheny Valley above the mouth of French

* The authorities do not agree as to either the time or place of Brodhead's nativity. But this is nothing; they rarely agree about anything.

Creek he encountered and defeated a party of thirty or forty warriors, burned a large number of houses, destroyed five hundred acres of standing corn, and brought away plunder to the amount of three thousand dollars. He did not lose a man in this enterprise. "I have a happy presage," he writes, "that the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford, and Northumberland, if not the whole western frontiers, will experience the good effect of it."*

Under Colonel Brodhead was Captain Sam Brady, who, as a local hero, deserves more than a passing notice. Though little more than a youth in years he achieved a fame that has already endured a century. "Captain Brady," says Smucker, "has been by some historians styled the 'Marion of the Northwest,' by others he was frequently called the 'Daniel Boone of the western portions of Pennsylvania and Virginia,' and by still others he has been often likened to the Chevalier Bayard, as possessing many similar qualities to the knight who was without fear and without reproach."†

Besides his hostility to the savages on general principles, Brady was actuated by a special grudge of his own. In the summer of 1778 a younger brother of Brady's had been killed by the Indians while in the harvest-field, and in the following April his father, Captain John Brady, of the Revolutionary army, was ambushed and slain by the savages almost at his own doorstep. Sam Brady at this time was but twenty-one

* Brodhead to Washington, September 16, 1779.

† *Magazine of Western History*, July, 1891.

years old, and it is said that he took a solemn vow to be revenged upon the red men. The field of operations about Fort Pitt gave him ample scope to wreak out his vengeance, and he soon became a terror to the Indians all along the frontier. He figures frequently in the border history of those days.

The particular achievement which gained for him the title of "Hero of the Allegheny," and stamped his name permanently upon a locality in the valley of that river, took place in June, 1779, as we learn from a letter written by Colonel Brodhead to President Reed. Brodhead writes that about a fortnight before the date of his letter, which was June 24, a party of Indians had descended the Allegheny and fallen upon the Sewickley settlement, where they killed a woman and four children and took two other children prisoners.

While the Indians were on their homeward way with their booty Captain Brady, with a small number of men, fell in with them about fifteen miles above Kittanning. This is the distance as given by Brodhead, but it is likely short of the fact. "The Indians," says Brodhead, "had chosen an advantageous situation for their camp. He, however, surrounded them, and attacked at the break of day. The Indian captain, a notorious warrior of the Muncy nation, was killed on the spot, and several more mortally wounded; but the woods were remarkably thick and the party could not pursue the villains' tracks, after they had stopped their wounds, which they always do as soon as possible after receiving them. Captain Brady, however, retook six horses, the two prisoners, the scalps, and all their

lunder, and took all the Indians' guns, tomahawks, patch-coats, moccasins; in fine, everything they had except their breech-clouts."

Such is the simple official account of this action as given by Colonel Brodhead. The story has been many times retold by our local annalists, who have embellished it with many adventitious circumstances. In August, 1779, Captain Brady was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, and retired from the service January 1, 1783. He remained in and about Pittsburgh, one of the romantic characters of the border, for a number of years after the close of the war. He died near West Liberty, West Virginia, December 5, 1795, aged only thirty-nine years.*

Brodhead's position at Fort Pitt does not seem to have been an easy one. From his correspondence his men seem to have been most of the time on scanty rations and destitute of nearly everything needful. "I am exceedingly distressed," he writes, "on account of the want of blankets, shirts, and many other articles of clothing, being very sensible that the soldiers must suffer much for want of them and will follow the example of those who have already deserted to a warm climate on that account." Again he writes: "The troops have not tasted meat at this post for six days past, and I hear of none that we can purchase, or procure by our compulsory means; indeed, there is very little meat to be had on this side the mountain at any rate."

In the summer of 1781 he became involved in a bit-

* "Pennsylvania Archives," second series, vol. x. p. 451.

ter dispute with Colonel Gibson and some other of his officers. The controversy raged to such an extent that Washington felt constrained to end it by ordering Brodhead to resign his command until matters could be investigated, and appointed Colonel Gibson to assume the command at Fort Pitt in the mean time. "At this juncture," says George Dallas Albert, "Fort Pitt was little better than a heap of ruins. The regular force stationed there was wholly incompetent to the exigencies of the service. The controversy about the command of the post had greatly increased the disorder. The garrison was in want of pay, of clothing, of even subsistence itself, and as a consequence was in a mutinous condition. The militia of the department was without proper organization; and when called into service, destitute, to a great extent, of military knowledge and discipline."*

In September, 1781, Brodhead turned over his office to Colonel Gibson. A few weeks later Brigadier-General William Irvine was appointed to take charge at Fort Pitt. In the reorganization of the army in 1781 Brodhead was appointed colonel of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. After the war he served in various public positions. He died at Milford, Pike County, Pennsylvania, in November, 1809.†

General Irvine found Fort Pitt, as we have seen, in a sorry condition. The garrison consisted of only about two hundred men fit for service, and of these a number were detached for duty at Fort McIntosh and

* "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," vol. ii. p. 138.

† "Pennsylvania Archives," second series, vol. x. p. 646.

elsewhere. A thousand men were needed in order to make any effective defence of the country, but these it was impossible to obtain. The commanding officer might summon the militia, but it was like calling spirits from the vasty deep. "The power of calling out the militia of this country," wrote Irvine, "is more ideal than real, especially till the lines between Virginia and Pennsylvania are determined and actually run. Neither civil nor military law will take place until then."*

In the year 1781 the famous General George Rogers Clarke, of Virginia, passed through Pittsburgh on his march against Detroit. The expedition was a failure. Colonel Lochry, the lieutenant of Westmoreland County, with a company of one hundred men, had been directed by Clarke to join him at the mouth of the Miami, up which river it was his intention to proceed. For some reason Clarke afterwards changed his plan, but left a small party at the designated place with orders for Lochry to join him at the falls of the Ohio. After reaching the mouth of the Miami the party was attacked by the enemy and defeated. Not a man escaped death or captivity. This calamity plunged the Pennsylvania border into consternation and grief. Of the sixty-four prisoners, nineteen eventually returned to Westmoreland County.

The early spring of 1782 witnessed a tragical affair on the Muskingum River, in which men from the Monongahela Valley were concerned. The month of February of that year had been unusually mild, and

* Irvine to Washington, December 2, 1781.

consequently parties of the enemy were early on the war-path. Many murders were committed. The early date of these crimes led people to believe that the Moravian or Christian Indians of the Muskingum villages were implicated in them, or that their towns harbored the savages from Sandusky. In the preceding fall a detachment under Colonel David Williamson, of Washington County, had visited the villages, but found few of the inhabitants there. These were taken prisoners and brought to Pittsburgh. They were detained here a short time and then allowed to go. This excited many of the people of the country, who thought that the Indians ought to have been put to death. Colonel Williamson had to meet a great deal of opprobrium for his lenity. Posterity has heaped reproaches upon his memory for subsequent acts, for which perhaps he was not to blame. "I was personally acquainted with him," says Dr. Doddridge, "and from my recollection of his conversation, I say with confidence that he was a brave man, but not cruel. He would meet an enemy in battle and fight like a soldier, but not murder a prisoner. Had he possessed the authority of a superior officer in a regular army, I do not believe that a single Moravian Indian would have lost his life; but he possessed no such authority."*

In March, 1782, James Marshell, the lieutenant of Washington County, ordered out some militia to march against the Moravian villages. The number of men is placed at between eighty and ninety. The command was given to Colonel Williamson.

* Doddridge's "Notes," etc., p. 260.

Arrived at the village of Gnadenhütten, they found the Indians at work in their fields. The white men professed friendship for them, and said that they had come to take them to Pittsburgh, where they would be safe from the wild Indians of Sandusky, who had caused them much trouble. The Moravians were delighted, gave up their arms, and set about preparing victuals for themselves and the white men on the journey. Meantime, a party of Moravians and white men proceeded to the neighboring town of Salem with the good news, and in a short time the people of that place came in. In the evening two buildings were assigned the Moravians,—the men, numbering about thirty, were placed in one of them, and the women and children, about sixty or sixty-five in number, were placed in the other. From that moment they were prisoners. A clamor arose for their destruction. Colonel Williamson did not desire it,—he himself voted against it,—but the odium that had befallen him for his former leniency caused him to leave the question to his men.* All that were favorable to mercy were requested to step forward. It is said that only sixteen or eighteen voted on the side of mercy.† The dreadful sentence was made known to the prisoners. The execution of it was deferred to the next day. Meanwhile, the poor Moravians gave themselves to singing, praying, and endeavoring to encourage and console each other. In the morning the massacre began. A more ruthless crime was never committed. “While still

* “Pennsylvania Archives,” vol. ix. p. 524.

† Withers’s “Chronicles of Border Warfare,” p. 323.

religiously engaged, singing together a hymn at the moment, the impatient ruffians who had voluntarily assumed the task entered the rooms, and, harshly interrupting the proceedings, asked the prisoners if they were ready. They had committed their immortal souls to God, they said, and were ready. One of the bordermen took hold of a cooper's mallet that lay on the floor, observing, as he did so, 'How exactly this will answer for the purpose!' and with a heavily-wielded blow at the head of Brother Abraham brought him to the floor. Plying the weapon right and left he did not pause until fourteen of the Christians were prostrate, struggling in the agonies of death. He then delivered the mallet to one of his fellows, remarking, 'My arm fails me! Go you on in the same way!' And so, while a victim remained, the work of butchery continued."* Ninety-five or ninety-six victims thus perished. Two only succeeded in making their escape. The inhumanity of such a deed is appalling. Those who perpetrated it have long since been called to account. April 7, 1782, L. Weiss writes to Secretary Thomson: "The tragic scenes of erecting two butcher houses or sheds and killing in cold blood ninety-five brown or tawny sheep of Jesus Christ, one by one, is certainly taken notice of by the Shepherd, their Creator and Redeemer."†

The fate of the poor Moravians met little commiseration on the Pennsylvania border. On the contrary, the deed of blood was generally applauded. It was

* "Black Robes." By Robert P. Nevin. P. 166.

† "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. ix. p. 523.

determined now to follow up the Moravian campaign with another against the warlike Indians of Sandusky. On the 25th of May a force of four hundred and eighty men set out from the Ohio under Colonel William Crawford. In the election for the leadership Colonel Williamson came in only five votes behind Crawford, a very popular and capable man. This goes to show the high estimation in which the former was held. The campaign, however, ended in disaster, and Colonel Crawford perished miserably at the stake.

Yet another event of thrilling interest marked the year 1782 in Western Pennsylvania. In the early summer of that year a detachment consisting of three hundred British and five hundred Indians was formed at Lake Chautauqua for the purpose of making an attack on Fort Pitt; but upon the report of a spy as to the condition and strength of the place the enterprise was abandoned. The detachment then broke up into a number of war-parties. One of these parties, comprising not less than one hundred white men and Indians under the leadership of the renowned Guyasutha, suddenly, on the 13th of July, 1782, fell upon Hannastown. On that day a number of the people were engaged in the harvest-fields not far from the town, when one of their number perceived some Indians approaching through the woods. The alarm was given, and the whole party of harvesters at once dropped their reaping-hooks and ran at full speed for the town. The savages followed in close pursuit, and soon entered the place. The people had all crowded into the fort. There were only fourteen or fifteen rifles among them.

The enemy immediately set about robbing and burning the houses. Though most of the buildings were within gunshot the people in the fort made little attempt to protect them. But two of the Indians were known to have been killed. A young girl named Margaret Shaw ran in front of the gate, in which were some crevices through which the bullets of the enemy occasionally whistled, in order to take up a little child that had wandered there, when a bullet entered her bosom. This was the only casualty in the fort. But two of the houses were left unburned. From Hannastown a party of the marauders set off for Miller's Station, a small place about four miles southeast of Hannastown. There they killed nine persons and carried off twelve prisoners. At both places they made all the havoc possible. "They carried away," writes one, "a great number of horses and everything of value in the deserted houses, and destroyed all the cattle, hogs, and poultry within their reach."*

When evening fell the scattered enemy returned to the neighborhood of Hannastown with the intention of making another attack on the fort in the morning. During the night a re-enforcement of thirty armed men, who, by a ruse, made their number seem much larger, entered the fort. The Indians and their no less barbarous allies took the alarm, and shortly after midnight they departed with their plunder to their former haunts.

Hannastown never fully recovered from this blow. By degrees it partially arose from its ashes, but it

* Ephraim Douglass, July 26, 1782.

never again attained its former importance. The courts were resumed at the house of Robert Hanna. The last session held there was in October, 1786. The term for January, 1787, was held at the new county-seat, Greensburg, and the glory of Hannastown had departed forever.*

The attack upon Hannastown and Miller's Station was the most serious demonstration of the enemy in this quarter during the Revolution. That was itself one of the expiring blows of the war. Lord Cornwallis had surrendered to Washington at Yorktown in the preceding October, and though the final treaty of peace was not signed until nearly two years afterwards, the war was practically over. On the 6th of November, 1781, General Irvine made official announcement of "the great and glorious news" of the surrender of Cornwallis, and ordered thirteen pieces of artillery to be fired in Fort Pitt at ten o'clock. The further glorious proclamation was made that "The commissaries will issue a gill of whiskey, extraordinary, to the non-commissioned officers and privates upon this joyful occasion." As the higher officials and the citizens were not limited to a gill, extraordinary, there is no doubt that the glad news was ratified in right royal style in the good town of Pittsburgh.

After the close of the war many of the officers and soldiers remained in Pittsburgh, where they were after-

* A well-written sketch of the destruction of Hannastown, by Hon. Richard Coulter, first published in the *Argus* of Greensburg in 1836, may be read in "The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania," vol. ii. pp. 300-307.

wards as conspicuous in the social and business circles of the place as they had been in its military affairs. Among these may be named General O'Hara, General Richard Butler, Major Isaac Craig, Colonel Stephen Bayard, General Neville, and Major Kirkpatrick.*

* The Revolutionary period of our local history has been well presented by Edgar W. Hassler in his "Old Westmoreland," published since these pages were written.

CHAPTER VIII

AFTER THE STORM

THE war of the Revolution was over. Pittsburgh had not been molested by the enemy. It seems to have prospered in those troublesome days and the twenty houses of 1770 had increased to nearly one hundred, and the population numbered nearly five hundred souls. The buildings would seem to have clustered about the fort, and in 1779 Colonel Brodhead complains that the inhabitants were encroaching upon what he conceives are the rights of the garrison, even building "their fences within a few yards of the bastions."* Situated as the town was at the gateway to the great Southwest, and being the chief rallying-point on an extended frontier, it had a various and curious population. John Wilkins, who settled here about the year 1783, says that the place was then filled with old officers, soldiers, and camp followers, mixed with a few families of credit. All sorts of wickedness were carried on to excess, and there was no appearance of morality or order, or any signs of religion among the people. The description of the place by Arthur Lee, of Virginia, who visited it in the year 1784, is not more flattering. "Pittsburgh," he says, "is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even in Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on,

* Brodhead to Pickering, June 27, 1779.

the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty shillings per hundred-weight from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take in the shops money, wheat, flour, and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church nor chapel, so that they are likely to be damned without the benefit of clergy. The rivers encroach fast on the town, and to such a degree that, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had within thirty years of his memory carried away one hundred yards. The place, I believe, will never be very considerable.”*

From this account one gets quite a different impression from that produced by Hugh Henry Brackenridge's glowing description only two years later,—his “town with smoking chimneys, halls lighted up with splendor, ladies and gentlemen assembled, various music, and the mazes of the dance,”—his new world, “where there is all the refinement of the former and more benevolence of heart.” Brackenridge was a young lawyer, a Scotchman by birth, who had come over to Pittsburgh from Philadelphia in the spring of 1781 and settled here. He was afterwards for many years a conspicuous figure in Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. His description of his adopted town, which was published in the *Gazette* in 1786, was a highly fanciful sketch, “intended,” as he said, “to give some reputation to the town, with a view to induce emigration to this particular spot.” His sketch has small historical value because of its gross exaggerations. He grows at times quite idyllic; for ex-

* See *The Olden Time*, August, 1847.

ample, a small island in the Allegheny about a mile above the town was such that it might aspire "to live with those of the Ægean Sea, where the song of Homer drew the image of delight, or where the Cam or Isis, embracing in their bosoms gems like these, are sung by Milton, father of modern bards."*

There was no doubt much in the appearance and surroundings of the village nestled on its point of land between the wooded hills to justify the enthusiasm of Brackenridge. The world seemed young. The rivers flowing on each side were as yet fresh and untainted. The blue sky was not yet dimmed by the smoke of human industries. It was already historic ground. The ditches and mounds of old Fort Duquesne were yet plainly visible. The palisades of Fort Pitt still bore the marks of a memorable siege. On the bank of the Allegheny near the point was an orchard of apple- and pear-trees, which had been planted by an English officer many years before. Just above the orchard were cultivated grounds, formerly called the King's Gardens. Here Ecuyer's people had walked in those early August days and gathered vegetables to eke out their slender stores. On the opposite side of the river was a level piece of ground of three thousand acres, reserved by the State, to be laid out in lots, where was a delightful walk under the oak-, cherry-, and walnut-trees. "On this ground," says Brackenridge, "it is supposed a town may stand; but on all hands it is excluded from the praise of being a situa-

* Brackenridge's description of Pittsburgh is printed in *Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania*, January, 1885.

tion so convenient as on the side of the river where the present town is placed." By special permission of the State authorities James Boggs had settled over there at some date prior to 1785.* The city of Allegheny has long occupied the site where it was thought that possibly a town might some time be built. By the Supreme Executive Council, in October, 1787, David Reddick was appointed to lay out the "Town Common" and lots on this tract of land.

Brackenridge speaks in glowing terms of the Pittsburgh of that day as a summer resort, and compares it in that respect with the Warm Springs of Virginia, very much to the advantage of the former. "Nor is the winter season enjoyed with less festivity," he says, "than in more populous and cultivated towns. The buildings warm, fuel abundant, consisting of the finest coal from the neighboring hills, or of ash, hickory, or oak, brought down in rafts by the rivers. In the fall of the year and during the winter season there is usually a great concourse of strangers at this place, from the different States, about to descend to the westward, or to excursions into the uninhabited and adjoining country. These, with the inhabitants of the town, spend the evening in parties at the different houses, or at public balls, where they are surprised to find an elegant assembly of ladies, not to be surpassed in beauty and accomplishments perhaps by any on the continent." The truth of history is likely the medium between the estimates of Lee and Brackenridge. The town, whatever else it was, was a small collection of

* "Colonial Records," vol. xiv. p. 373.

houses, with possibly one or two exceptions built of logs, situated chiefly on the Monongahela River, and occupied mainly by such characters as Lee has described. The ground was broken and rough. A pond lay across the line of the present Wood Street, not far north of Third Avenue. A still larger pond extended from the foot of Grant's Hill beyond Sixth Avenue diagonally across to Fourth Avenue. It had an outlet into the Monongahela on the upper side of Wood Street. Another pond lay along the south side of Liberty Avenue between Fourth and Fifth Avenues. Its outlet was into the Monongahela near Short Street. Major Samuel Forman, of Syracuse, who visited Pittsburgh in the winter of 1789, declared it to be the muddiest town he had ever been in. He observes, however, that the place "was noted for handsome ladies. I had the pleasure to see a few," he says; "they certainly were very hospitable."*

As early as 1769 the Penns had determined on a survey of five thousand acres of land about Pittsburgh, and also on laying out the town, "which," says Thomas Penn, "I think from its situation will become considerable in time." The constantly increasing difficulties between the mother-country and the colonies prevented this design from being carried out for some years. But in 1783 they again took up the matter. As partisans of England in the Revolution they had forfeited their claims to the soil of Pennsylvania; but by an act of the Assembly, November 27, 1779, they

* See his autobiography in the *Historical Magazine*, December, 1869.

were allowed a compensation of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, and were permitted to retain several tracts of land in different parts of the State, called manors, which aggregated four hundred and twenty-one thousand and fifteen acres. One of these manors included Pittsburgh. It was surveyed in the fall of the year 1783, and the first sale of land under this survey was made in the following January to Isaac Craig and Stephen Bayard. The tract sold was the piece of land lying between Fort Pitt and the Allegheny River, and comprised about three acres.*

In the summer of 1784 the work of surveying and plotting the town was accomplished. This work was in charge of George Wood. His assistant was Thomas Vickroy, of Bedford County. The land laid out in building lots was all the tract lying between Grant Street and the two rivers. In the same year the privilege of mining coal in the "great seam" opposite the town was sold at the rate of thirty pounds for each mining lot, extending back to the centre of the hill.† Mr. Wood has perpetuated his identity with the work in the name of one of the principal streets of the city.

On the 29th day of July, 1786, appeared the first number of *The Pittsburgh Gazette*. It was a remarkable venture in journalism to undertake a newspaper in a remote corner like Pittsburgh, with the small and rude population then to be found here. It marks an epoch in the history of the town. The paper was estab-

* Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," p. 181.

† "Iron and Coal in Pennsylvania." By James M. Swank. P. 112.

lished by John Scull and Joseph Hall. The office outfit was of course brought from the East, and upon the East they were obliged to depend for all their office supplies. They seem to have been sometimes hard pressed for paper, the *Gazette* being reduced temporarily to the size of a mere handbill and printed on paper of the worst possible quality. But it continued to live through all, and still lives. Joseph Hall, one of the publishers, died November 10, 1786, aged only twenty-two years. The paper was then carried on by Scull alone until June 6 of the following year, when he was joined by John Boyd, of Philadelphia. The art of journalism was in its infancy in the days of John Scull. The meagre columns of the *Gazette* were filled with European news two months old, with long disquisitions on public affairs, with personal controversies, with moral essays, and with poems amatory and didactic. The modern reporter and the city editor had not yet been evolved. News of a local character was almost entirely wanting. Who died or who was married, who came or who went, was very rarely noticed. Only from the advertisements, as a rule, can we get any glimpses of life in Pittsburgh in those early years.

The only accessible file of the paper, perhaps the only one in existence dating from its first year, begins with the fifth number, August 26, 1786. In that number a writer continues from a previous issue some "Observations on the Country at the Head of the Ohio River," etc. There seems to have been at that time a minister in the town, and the danger to which Arthur Lee found the people exposed, eighteen months

before, might happily be escaped. "A clergyman is settled in this town of the Calvinistic Church," says this old writer. While he adds that some of the inhabitants are of the Lutheran and Episcopal Churches, he does not intimate that any such congregations were here. He says further that "a clergyman of the German Calvinist Church also occasionally preaches in this town," and he thinks from the rapid increase of German inhabitants that it will not be long until a minister "who can deliver himself in this language will be supported here altogether."

In laying out the town he says that "five lots have been assignated for churches and burying-grounds." These lots were about the centre of the town as it was laid out, and midway between the two rivers. There was still at that date an "antient cymetry of the natives," which was in the form of a mound whose height was such as to indicate that it had been "a place of sepulture for ages." A church building of squared logs and of sufficient size to accommodate the people for some time was then being erected.

There were two physicians in the town, one "a native of South Britain," the other an American. He does not name them. One of them we know was Dr. Nathaniel Bedford, who came here about 1770; the other was likely Dr. Thomas Parker. Such was the healthfulness of the place that the doctors evidently had little to do, though feeble youth and failing age sometimes required assistance. Two lawyers completed the list of gentlemen of the three learned faculties in the town. The rest of the inhabitants were

traders, mechanics, and laborers. There were no manufacturing establishments beyond the shops of the simple artisans. But the prescient eye beheld the near approach of a new era. "This town," says the writer whom we have been following, "must in future time be a place of great manufacturing; indeed, the greatest on the continent, or perhaps in the world." The reason he assigns for this belief is the fact that Pittsburgh was so far removed inland from the seats of manufacturing, that the expense of importing articles was so great as to require the people to resort to manufacturing for themselves. "The present carriage from Philadelphia is sixpence for each pound weight, and however improved the conveyance may be, and by whatever channel, yet such is our distance from either of the oceans that the importation of heavy articles will still be expensive." His prophetic vision was not wide enough to take in the fact that the day was fast approaching when the people of Pittsburgh would not only manufacture for themselves, but to a large degree for the inhabitants of the remotest countries.

Two topics occupy a great part of these "Observations." One is that the county-seat should be removed from Hannastown to Pittsburgh. He gives several reasons for this: the distance, more than thirty miles; a rugged road; and a stream, which is for a great part of the year very difficult to pass; the lack of conveyance, so that many persons, even women and aged people, who are not able to keep horses, "are often under the necessity of travelling on foot." Another argument, which, however, he forgets would apply

as well to Hannastown as to Pittsburgh, was that "the holding a court brings money to a town, retains a number of officers, and brings inhabitants, and contributes to its improvement."

The other subject discussed by our old Pittsburgh writer was in regard to education. "I do not know," he says, "that the Legislature could do a more acceptable service to the Commonwealth than by endowing a school at this place. The door of Janus has long been open, presenting battle-axes and all the armory of war. The literary education of our youth has been in the mean time neglected." He observes that Pennsylvania has not been wholly inattentive to the interests of learning "since the late war," but had added to the funds of the University of Philadelphia; but it could not be expected that that institution could be of the least service to the people of Pittsburgh; while the college at Carlisle was little more accessible; anyhow, "why," he demands, "should this country be under the necessity of remitting money to the county of Cumberland for the advantages of education?" As a first step possibly towards filling this great want, Mrs. Pride, in November, 1786, gives notice by public advertisement that she will open a boarding and day school for young ladies, where they will be taught Plain Work, Flowering, Fringing, and Knitting; and that the literary side of education may not be slighted, "Reading English" would be taught, "if required."

H. H. Brackenridge, member of the Assembly from Pittsburgh, writes the editor of the *Gazette*, in December, 1786, that a bill had been published incorporating

a number of trustees in the Western country for an academy at Pittsburgh, and that he had obtained from the Penns a grant of one square in what is called Ewalt's field for its use.* This bill became a law on the 28th day of February, 1787. The trustees named in the act were the Reverends Samuel Barr, James Finley, James Powers, John McMillan, Joseph Smith, and Matthew Henderson; General John Gibson; Colonels Prestly Neville, William Butler, and Stephen Bayard; Messrs. James Ross, David Bradford, Robert Galbraith, George Thompson, George Wallace, Edward Cook, John Moore, William Todd, and Alexander Fowler; and Doctors Nathaniel Bedford and Thomas Parker. These gentlemen were not all residents of Pittsburgh.

Among the business men of the town in the year 1786 were John & Samuel Calhoun, dry goods, Front Street; Daniel Britt & Co., Wilson & Wallace, and James O'Hara, general merchandise; and John Gibson, on the bank of the river, "wet and dry goods." Hugh Ross notifies the public that he intends to erect a rope-walk in Pittsburgh, and expects to "have for sale a quantity of Hemp Seed before the sowing season of that article comes on." In October of that year the same individual informs the public that his ferry on the Monongahela will be open free to all foot passengers on Sundays "when there is divine service in Pittsburgh," between ten and twelve o'clock in the forenoon and from three to four o'clock in the afternoon, "so that every person may have it in their power

* *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, January 6, 1787.

of attending on public worship who reside in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh in Washington County."

Two public-houses at least were in the town in 1786, both on Water Street, one kept by David Duncan and the other, "two doors above Market Street," by A. & J. Tannehill. At this time there was no mail service to and from Pittsburgh. Letters and packages were sent by whatever means were at hand; sometimes with the result complained of in the *Gazette* by William Freid and John Grof, who say that some person who had undertaken to convey a valuable letter to them from "the sign of the Ship," in Lancaster, had not delivered it, and they would like to have it. Mr. John Blair gives notice that he will pass up and down the Monongahela with a boat every week, and that he will be able to deliver the *Gazette* to subscribers on his route "at a more reasonable rate than any other conveyance."

Steps were being taken, however, to supply this great want, and Mr. Brison received orders to establish a post between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.* This does not seem to have been accomplished; but later notice is sent out from the post-office at Philadelphia that a regular mail service would be established between Alexandria, in Virginia, and Pittsburgh by way of Bedford. At the same time the authorities announce their willingness to enter into a contract with any person who desired to form a more direct communication between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia,—the exclusive privilege and all the emoluments arising therefrom

* *Gazette*, September 30, 1786.

would be granted for any term not exceeding seven years.* More than twelve months later the public is congratulated on the establishment of a regular post between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.† John Scull the editor of the *Gazette*, was the postmaster. A list of letters remaining in the office is published December 6, 1788. There were one hundred and sixty of them, which would indicate considerable correspondence for those times.

Among characteristic notices were frequent advertisements of runaway soldiers, apprentices, servants, and slaves. Mr. Ormsby announces as to be sold a German woman servant, "who has near three years to serve," and Colonel John Gibson, at Fort Pitt, "A Negro Wench," who is described as an excellent cook, for whom "produce will be taken, or cattle of any kind."‡ There are notices of negro men, "Jack," "Joe," and "Sam," who have absconded from their masters, or have been taken up and jailed, and who, if not claimed within a reasonable time, "will be sold for their fees." §

Fort Pitt continued to be occupied by the government as a military post. About the year 1784 the Supreme Council had ordered the fort to be sold by the agents of confiscated estates in Westmoreland County; but this order was recalled in July, 1785. In the following month orders were given to the commissioners of the State to take possession of the fort in behalf of the Commonwealth upon its relinquishment.¶ We

* *Gazette*, March 14, 1787. † *Ibid.*, July 19, 1788. ‡ *Ibid.*, May 26, 1787. § *Ibid.*, June 16, 1787; June 28, 1788; July 18, 1789; August 22, 1789. ¶ "Colonial Records," vol. xiv. p. 517.

find but scant mention of the fort in those times of peace. In February, 1788, Lieutenant Ernest offers a guinea reward for the discovery of the "evil-minded persons" who had been divesting the fence around the garrison of the pales belonging to it; and in the following winter the same officer advertises the desertion of a soldier from Captain Zeigler's company at Fort Pitt, and Ensign Jeffers, of the First United States Regiment, gives notice of the desertion of two men from Captain Heart's company at the same place. During all these years the Indians were more or less troublesome on the border, and in July, 1788, General Richard Butler, the superintendent of Indian affairs at Pittsburgh, notifies the people on the Ohio below Fort Pitt to be on their guard. On Dunkard Creek, in Washington County, on the 25th of April, 1789, the savages killed five persons, Joseph Cumbridge and his wife, and William Thomas and two children.*

In October, 1786, the "Jockey Club" of Pittsburgh offers a purse of one hundred and twenty dollars for best animal in a three-mile heat, entrance fee five dollars; "no Jockey will be permitted to run unless he has some genteel Jockey Habit." In January, 1788, Thomas Tousey gives notice that he has opened a school in the house of Mr. McNickel, in Front Street, in which he will teach the Latin Language, Reading English Grammatically, Writing, and Arithmetic. The trustees of the Pittsburgh Academy are requested to meet at the house of Mr. David Duncan on the 18th of March, 1788, to consider some business of impor-

* *Gazette*, May 2, 1789.

tance. In February, 1787, the inhabitants of Pittsburgh were asked to meet at the Diamond on the 1st of the following month to consider the expediency of erecting a public market-house. The result of the meeting was that Hugh Ross, Colonel Stephen Bayard, and Rev. Samuel Barr were appointed a committee to prepare the plan of a market-house, etc. A watchful correspondent of the newspaper, however, advises the people to be careful about pledging themselves to buy no provision except in the market on market days, unless they have the cash,—“we had better stay at home,” he says, “and suck our fingers than to go to the market without it.”* The market-house was built at the corner of Market and Second Streets.†

These may seem trivial details with which to encumber the page of history; but it is the every-day life of our fathers that we are endeavoring to understand.

Captain Thomas Hutchins, geographer-general to the United States, died at the house of his old friend, John Ormsby, in Pittsburgh, on the 28th day of April, 1789. The funeral services were conducted by the famous Moravian missionary Heckewelder, who had long known the deceased, and who happened to be in the town at the time.‡

Somewhat against the general bad character that Arthur Lee and some other early chroniclers had given to the inhabitants of Pittsburgh is the fact that books seem to have been fairly numerous among them. This is remarkable when we consider the inconvenience and

* *Gazette*, March 10, 1787.

† Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," p. 205.

‡ *Gazette*, May 2, 1789.

the expense with which they must have been brought over the mountains. A set of six small leather-covered volumes of Pope's Works at hand, each bearing the date 1787, and the well-known autograph, "Rich'd Butler," would indicate the literary taste of this distinguished citizen of early Pittsburgh. General Butler himself made some claims to literature, and in 1787 he published a valuable and now very rare work entitled "Vocabulary of the Shawnoes."*

The first English book brought into the place was no doubt that volume of sermons which was carried by a French soldier from the scene of Braddock's defeat and given to James Smith, the young captive at Fort Duquesne. "When I came into my lodgings," says he, "I saw Russell's 'Seven Sermons,' which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present to me." It goes to show the thoroughness with which they gleaned the bloody field, when a French soldier thought it worth the trouble to carry off a trifling book which he probably could not read. In July, 1788, John Boyd gives notice that he will open a circulating library in Pittsburgh as soon as one hundred subscribers were secured. The books in some of the private collections seem to have got into circulation beyond the intention of their owners, as we find William Watson giving notice in the *Gazette* that somebody, "not now recollected," had borrowed his Ferguson's Lectures, and he begs to have it returned; and George Cochran desires the re-

* See Pilling's "Algonquian Languages." Washington: 1891. P. 64.

turn of the first, third, and fifth volumes of Sterne's Works, "Julia de Roubigne," the fourth volume of "Charles Grandison," Euclid's Elements, Howay's Mensuration, and Gibson's Surveying, which some parties had borrowed and forgotten to bring back. In January, 1790, Hugh Ross advertises a book auction to be held shortly at Mr. Beaumont's Coffee House. This was the "Ohio Coffee House" in Market Street, opened by W. H. Beaumont in August, 1789.

But books were also published in Pittsburgh at a very early date. The "Pittsburgh Almanac" was announced as in press in September, 1787. "The Observations of Rittenhouse, Ewing, and Ellicot at their Observatory at the end of Mason and Dixon's line," says the advertisement, "have enabled us to give the places and appearances of the heavenly bodies in the meridian of this western country with great exactness."* The almanac was printed at the office of the *Gazette*. From the same source were issued Spelling Books, which could be had "by the dozen, or the single one," and the "A, B, C, with the Shorter Catechism." The earliest Pittsburgh author to make any real contribution to literature was Hugh Henry Brackenridge. His description of Pittsburgh, published in the *Gazette*, we have already mentioned. In 1795 he published "Incidents of the Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania in 1794." His best-known and most meritorious work is his "Modern Chivalry," a humorous political satire. The first portion of it was published in Pittsburgh in 1796; the second part did not appear until

* *Gazette*, September 23, 1786.

ten years later. The writings of Brackenridge show him to have been learned, shrewd, and witty. His biographer declares "he has had no equal in this country in versatility and originality of genius." This, it may be observed, was written some time ago. His son, H. M. Brackenridge, the author of "Views of Louisiana," "History of the Late War" [1812], etc., is nearly as well known as his father.

Through the decade from 1780 to 1790 there was a constant rush of emigration to the Southwest. The route was by water down the Ohio, and the business of boat-building soon came to be an important industry in the Monongahela valley. "Since Sunday evening last," says the *Gazette*, "upwards of one hundred and twenty boats have passed by this town on their way to Kentucky, which at an average of fifteen persons each, will add eighteen hundred inhabitants to that young settlement."* At Pittsburgh and various points above were yards for the construction of the required craft, and "Kentucke Boats" for sale was a standing advertisement in the columns of the *Gazette*. Many of the emigrants took boat at Brownsville and other places on the Monongahela above Pittsburgh; but most of them, if not all, halted at the latter town to lay in supplies. Pittsburgh shared in this era of enterprise, and at the close of the decade contained perhaps over one hundred buildings of various kinds and a population of five or six hundred souls.†

* *Gazette*, November 24, 1787.

† Pittsburgh: "It contains about two hundred houses, stores, and shops, and eight or nine hundred inhabitants."—Morse's "American Geography," 1796, p. 556.

CHAPTER IX

INDIAN HOSTILITIES

MAJOR FORMAN, 1789, whom we have already referred to, makes the remark that Pittsburgh was then a great manufacturing town, and that by reason of burning so much coal the complexion of the inhabitants was affected. This seems a curious observation when we reflect upon what the manufactures of Pittsburgh were in that day and the quantity of coal that could only have been required for the uses of the town.

In 1789, William Dunning carried on the "Scythe and Sickle making" at his shop in Pittsburgh, fronting the Diamond, where any quantity of the above articles could be had on the shortest notice, for either cash, ginseng, or country produce.* This, we believe, is the first mention of any kind of iron industry in Pittsburgh. George McGunnele, in Market Street, manufactured locks, keys, hinges, pipe tomahawks, scalping-knives, grates, andirons, shovels, tongs, pokers, ladles, flesh forks, currycombs, and other articles of hardware.† Thomas Wylie, corner of Third and Market Streets, was an edge-tool maker, and was prepared to make "all kinds of mill irons turned in the neatest manner."‡ These three seem to have been the precursors of the army of iron-workers that have since made Pittsburgh famous. Those early enterprises must have

* *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, June 13, 1789.

† *Ibid.*, August 1, 1789.

‡ *Ibid.*, September 19, 1789.

been extremely limited, little if anything more than mere workshops. It is significant of the state of the manufacturing enterprises of Pittsburgh to find the editor of the *Gazette*, April 25, 1789, in extending in his columns an "Invitation to Emigrants" to come and settle in that town, mentioning, as especially desirable, "hatters, button makers, rope makers, and weavers," but not a word of invitation to workers in metal. This is not to be wondered at when we remember that no iron was at that time made west of the Alleghenies, and what was used here was brought at great expense across the mountains on the backs of horses.

As illustrative of this point is the interesting incident related by Samuel Maclay, one of the commissioners of survey of the State, in his "Journal," 1790. As the surveying party were descending the Allegheny River John Rea, one of the men, found part of an old gun-carriage near a small island a short distance above Kittanning. How it had got there is a mystery. Maclay was very anxious to reach the mouth of the Kiskiminetas that day, August 11, but Rea delayed the party three hours while he stripped the gun-carriage of its iron; so that Maclay failed to reach the desired point on time. The next day Rea and Frederick Bawm left the party, much to the discomfiture of Maclay, and proceeded to Pittsburgh, no doubt for the purpose of bringing their precious find of old iron to a profitable market.*

This point of time, however, marks the beginning

* Maclay's "Journal," 1790, p. 44.

of the iron industry west of the Alleghenies. In 1789 Turnbull, Marmie & Co. built a furnace and a forge on Jacob's Creek, in Fayette County, a mile or two above the entrance of that stream into the Youghiogheny. The furnace was put in blast November 1, 1790. This we take to be the first enterprise of the kind in Western Pennsylvania. Turnbull, Marmie & Co. was a Pittsburgh business firm which appears in the *Gazette* as early as June, 1787. This enterprise was known as the Alliance Iron-Works. The furnace was operated at intervals until 1802, when it finally went out of blast. A large number of six-pound balls were made here in 1792, for the use of General Wayne's army in his expedition against the Western Indians.* Peter Marmie was a Frenchman whom tradition reports to have brought himself to a tragical end.†

The first iron-works within the limits of the present city of Pittsburgh were built by George Anshutz near what is now Shady Side Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad. It was a furnace, built on a small scale, completed about the year 1792, and devoted mainly to casting stoves and grates. It seems to have been operated for but a couple of years, being then abandoned for want of ore. What had been supposed to be a bank of iron ore in the near neighborhood turned out to be only a stratum of red shale. To bring ore from a distance with the means then at hand was impracticable, and the furnace was abandoned in 1794.

* "Iron in all Ages." By James M. Swank. P. 214.

† See Frank Cowan's "Southwestern Pennsylvania in Song and Story," p. 102.

This pioneer in what has become Pittsburgh's great industry died in this city in the year 1837.

About 1805 Joseph McClurg established the first iron-foundry in Pittsburgh. It stood on the lower corner of Smithfield Street and Fifth Avenue, where the Parke Building now stands. During the war of 1812 it was employed in the casting of cannon, howitzers, shells, and balls for the use of the American forces. Both Commodore Perry and General Jackson were supplied in part by McClurg's foundry. In 1807 three nail-factories were in operation at Pittsburgh,—Porter's, Sturgeon's, and Stewart's. The output was about forty tons of nails annually. In 1810 the quantity was put at two hundred tons. The ventures in the iron industry kept pace with the lapse of time until it has become what we now see it. In 1811 and 1812 Christopher Cowan established the first rolling-mill in the city. It was situated at the corner of Penn Avenue and Cecil Alley, where the Fourth Ward public school-house afterwards stood for twoscore years. At this rolling-mill were made a variety of articles which no one now would associate with a rolling-mill; for besides sheet-iron and nail and spike rods, were made shovels, tongs, spades, scythes, hoes, axes, cutting knives, chains, hammers, chisels, augers, and other articles of ironmongery.* The editor of Cramer's "Magazine Almanac" for 1826 says: "The manufactures of Pittsburgh, particularly in the article of iron, begin to assume a very interesting aspect. Not less than five rolling-mills are now in operation, and a sixth will

* Swank's "Iron in all Ages," p. 229.

oon be ready, for the various manufactures of iron. Four of the mills are capable of making iron from the pig, besides rolling, slitting, and cutting into nails. The other is engaged only in rolling bar and boiler iron and cutting nails. The fuel to supply the engines, —the metal and other materials required in conducting the operation of these works, and in their repairs, is computed, afford employment to upwards of fifteen hundred people, the value of whose labor may be estimated at fifteen hundred dollars each per annum, or two million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, while the total product may be estimated at three million dollars!"

The business of boat-building, which has already been mentioned, grew rapidly. The number of barges, flat-boats, and similar craft runs far up into the thousands. In the year 1810, Tarascon Brothers & Co. built the "Amity," a schooner of one hundred and fifty tons, which was sent with a cargo of flour to St. Thomas, in the West Indies. In the same year they built the schooner "Pittsburgh," of two hundred and fifty tons, which was despatched with a similar cargo to Philadelphia, and thence to Bordeaux, in France. These first ventures in sea-going vessels were speedily followed by others. One of these, the brig "Ann Jane," built in 1803, was one of the fastest sailing vessels of the day, and was run for some time as a packet between New York and New Orleans.

In the year 1811 was constructed at Pittsburgh the first steamboat on the Western waters. It was called the "New Orleans." It was one hundred and sixteen

feet in length, with twenty feet beam. The boat was owned by Fulton, Livingston & Roosevelt. Its cost was about thirty-eight thousand dollars. It was built on the right bank of the Monongahela, a short distance below the mouth of Sook's Run. Anthony Beelen's foundry was near. The freight warehouse of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad now occupies the spot. Upon its completion in September, 1811, the vessel was taken to the lower Mississippi, where it was used as a packet between New Orleans and Natchez.* As a financial venture it was a success, the net profit for the first year being twenty thousand dollars. Unfortunately, in the winter of 1814 the boat was sunk at Baton Rouge. Since the year 1811 more than three thousand sea-going vessels and steamboats have been built in and near Pittsburgh. The most prolific year was 1857, when one hundred and forty-one were built. Only a few years ago a writer remarked: "Pittsburgh seems to be one of those locations predestined, if the expression may be allowed, for a ship-building centre. All the varieties of timber necessary are at her doors. The enterprise and skill of man have assembled all other materials for the complete construction of any vessel, from an armored war-ship to a burden barge."† We cannot look into the seeds of time and say which will grow. What the future may have in store in this matter we do not know; but for the present we may

* Read "The First Steamboat Voyage on the Western Waters." By J. B. H. Latrobe.

† "Allegheny County's Hundred Years." By George H. Thurston. P. 117.

say that Pittsburgh has ceased to be a ship-building centre.

By a treaty made at Fort Stanwix in October, 1784, all the remaining territory in Western Pennsylvania claimed by the Indians was made over to the State by the chiefs of the Six Nations. This territory came to be known as the "New Purchase." The troubles from the savages, however, grew only worse and worse. The murder or abduction of pioneer families was of constant occurrence. Thrilling indeed were many of the personal adventures of those times. One of the most remarkable of these was that of Mrs. Massy Harbison.* In the year 1792 she was living in a cabin within two hundred yards of Reed's block-house, on the left bank of the Allegheny River, about a mile below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas. Her husband was absent on the public service as a scout or spy. In the early morning of the 22d of May, while she was sleeping, her house was entered by a gang of Indians. A child of three years was slaughtered at the doorstep. Mrs. Harbison with a babe in her arms, and a little boy of five years, were driven from the house into the wilderness. What the forty armed men in the block-house, in plain view, were doing all this time is hard to say. They had not gone far when the little boy was killed and scalped. At this scene the poor mother fainted away, but was flogged back into consciousness by her brutal captors and compelled to go forward.

* Her name was no doubt Mercy; but as the word was usually pronounced in those days, she is always termed Massy Harbison.

The company soon separated, and she was put in the custody of two savages, one of whom claimed her as his squaw. She was taken across the country to the Connoquenessing, some miles beyond the site of the present town of Butler. On the third morning of her captivity, in the absence of one of the Indians and while the other was asleep, she made her escape, and through infinite sufferings and perils from which only Providence, as she piously believed, delivered her, she reached the settlements on the Allegheny near Pittsburgh on the 27th of May, with her babe in her arms. The "Narrative of the Sufferings of Massy Harbison," a small book once common enough, now extremely rare, is a detail of thrilling interest. One incident we relate. In the evening of the second day of her flight "a moderate rain," she says, "came on, and I began to prepare for bed by collecting some leaves together, as I had done the night before, but could not collect a sufficient quantity without setting my little boy on the ground; but as soon as I put him out of my arms he began to cry. Fearful of the consequence of his noise in this situation, I took him in my arms and put him to the breast immediately, and he became quiet. I then stood and listened, and distinctly heard the footsteps of a man, coming after me, in the same direction which I had come. The ground over which I had been travelling was good and the mould was light; I had therefore left my footmarks, and thus exposed myself to a second captivity. Alarmed at my perilous situation, I looked around for a place of safety, and providentially discovered a large tree

which had fallen, into the tops of which I crept, with my child in my arms, and there I hid myself securely under the limbs. The darkness of the night greatly assisted me, and prevented me from detection.

“The footsteps I had heard were those of a savage. He heard the cry of the child, and came to the very spot where the child cried, and there he halted, put down his gun, and was at this time so near that I heard the wiping-stick strike against his gun distinctly. My getting in under the tree and sheltering myself from the rain, and pressing my boy to my bosom, got him warm, and most providentially he fell asleep, and lay very still during the time of my danger at that time. All was still and quiet, the savage was listening, and by possibility he might again hear the cry he had heard before. My own heart was the only thing I feared, and that beat so loud that I was apprehensive it would betray me.

“After the savage had stood and listened with nearly the stillness of death for two hours, the sound of a bell and a cry like that of a night-owl, signals which were given to him from his savage companions, induced him to answer, and after he had given a most horrid yell, which was calculated to harrow up my soul, he started and went off to join them. After the retreat of the savage to his companions, I concluded it unsafe to remain in my concealed situation till morning, lest they should conclude upon a second search, and being favored with the light of day, find me, and either tomahawk or scalp me, or otherwise bear me

back to my captivity again, which was worse than death."

When the two Indians who had Mrs. Harbison in charge separated from the band and set off to the Connoquenessing, the rest went on towards Puckety. They killed, captured, and destroyed as they went. Among the prisoners taken was a young woman named Elizabeth Flails. She remained in captivity sixteen months. Upon her return to her home, she related that the Indians hid her for three days at the forks of the Kiskiminetas, and that while there the two Indians from whom Mrs. Harbison had escaped came to them and showed the scalp of the little boy they had killed. "They stated that the white people had come upon them," says Mrs. Harbison in her Narrative, "and took the woman away from them. This refers to me, and this was the way they accounted for my escape from the Indians. Miss Flails said she knew a hawl of mine which one of them had about his neck. The savages told her they must alter their course, as there were white people after them.

"A little before the sun went down, she said, they came upon a track of a person who was travelling without anything upon the feet. When they saw this they were struck with astonishment, and one of the savages followed the track till dark. At dark they rang a bell and made a noise like owls to bring him back to his party again. When he came back he said he had heard either the cry of a child or young bear, he could not tell which, but said he listened and examined a long time, but could hear nothing afterwards.

"This was without doubt," Mrs. Harbison continues, "the very Indian who pursued me, and the cry which he heard was that of my child when I put him down to collect some leaves to make a bed. Doubtless his was the man who remained near me so long when I took my child, hid him in my bosom, and hid him in the boughs of a tree as before mentioned."

The continued outrages of the savages upon the border at length determined the government to take steps against them. Various enterprises were organized, but they were fruitless of any great or permanent results. Among others an army of three thousand men was ordered by Congress in the spring of 1791 to be raised, and the campaign was put in charge of General Arthur St. Clair, at that time governor of the Northwestern Territory. General Richard Butler, of Pittsburgh, was second in command. The army assembled at Pittsburgh, and from this place proceeded to Cincinnati. In September the force amounted to about two thousand three hundred men. With these St. Clair marched north into the very heart of the Indian country. By the 3d of November he reached one of the head-waters of the Wabash, about one hundred miles north of Cincinnati, and near the present line between Ohio and Indiana. Many desertions had taken place, and his force is said to have been thus reduced to only about fourteen hundred men, mostly militia. He encamped for the night of the 3d without attempting any defensive works, meaning to fortify himself the next day; but in the early morning of the 4th a large body of the enemy fell upon the unsuspect-

troops with great fury. More than half the army was destroyed. The men fought with the utmost courage, but were compelled to give way, and the retreat speedily became a rout, which did not end until fugitives entered the gates of Fort Jefferson, nearly thirty miles from the scene of the action. The artillery was abandoned, and in their fright men threw away their arms, even after the pursuit had ceased. On Braddock's fateful day no such slaughter and defeat had befallen the white men in their struggles with the Indians. Among those who fell was the gallant General Butler. He was shot down, tomahawked, and scalped.

General Butler was one of the conspicuous figures in the early history of Pittsburgh and Western Pennsylvania. First as major of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, and finally as colonel of the Ninth, he served continuously in the Revolution from July, 1776, to the end of the war. He served also for some time as lieutenant-colonel in Morgan's command; and General Henry Lee, author of "Memoirs of the War," speaks of him as "the renowned second and rival of Morgan in the Saratoga encounters." For the five or six years preceding his death he had been Indian agent at Pittsburgh. His home was at the corner of Market Street, now Third Street, and Liberty Avenue.

The revulsion from high expectation to blank despair and indignation was almost as complete as that which followed Braddock's disaster. St. Clair, who, though at the time, was borne about everywhere in his litter

into the thickest of the fire, giving his orders with the coolness and self-possession worthy of a better fortune, was made the target of criticism and obloquy. All his long and distinguished services on the frontier and in the Revolution were forgotten, and he became the butt of the satirist and the lampooner. Over nine hundred men were killed and wounded in the action, among whom were forty-nine commissioned officers. The Indians lost only about sixty killed. The prisoners, of whom there were many, were put to death by the Indians in the most barbarous manner.*

General St. Clair, like Braddock, Forbes, and so many others who figured largely in our early history, was a Scotchman. He was born at Thurso in 1734. When only twenty-three years of age he entered the British army. In May, 1758, he arrived in America with Amherst, and in 1759, having been raised to the rank of a lieutenant, he was assigned to Wolfe's command and was present at the fall of Quebec. Having married in 1760, he resigned from the army a year or two later, and in 1764 he settled at Bedford, in Pennsylvania, as agent for the Penns. He served as prothonotary of Bedford and afterwards of Westmoreland Counties, and of the latter he was also appointed a justice of the peace. We have seen the course he took in the troubles of Dunmore's time. It was his hand that drew up the patriotic resolutions adopted at Hanastown in May, 1775. When the Revolution broke out St. Clair joined Washington, and was one of his trusted officers to the close of the struggle. He rose

* "The Great West." By Henry Howe. P. 157.

to the rank of major-general, and served conspicuously throughout the war. Upon the return of peace he was selected for various posts of high responsibility, and in 1787, as president of Congress, he was virtually President of the United States. When the Northwestern Territory was organized in 1787, St. Clair was appointed governor by Congress. His defeat on the Wabash was the end of his prosperous career. He continued to serve as governor of the Territory for a number of years, but his star grew more and more dim until finally it went out in obscurity. In 1802, President Jefferson retired him to private life, and at the age of sixty-eight years he returned to his home in Westmoreland County, where he found that his fortune was gone, his improvements in ruin, and remorseless creditors at his heels. His property was seized by the sheriff and sold, and St. Clair was left without a roof to shelter his head.

In this extremity his son came to his relief and purchased a piece of land on Chestnut Ridge, about five miles west of Ligonier, and thereon a rude log house was erected, in which the aged soldier and patriot sought refuge. In this house he kept a roadside tavern, that he might gain enough for the support of his family; but had it not been for a few philanthropic friends, he would often have suffered. The closing scenes of his career were melancholy. The end was that he fell from his wagon on the road between his house and Youngstown, was found lying by the wayside, was carried home, where he died without regaining consciousness, August 31, 1818. He is

buried in the St. Clair Cemetery at Greensburg, where his monument may still be seen.

"The State of Pennsylvania, it is true," says the writer whom we have been following, "granted St. Clair a small annuity, and thirty-nine years after his death Congress did something for his heirs, but they never received a tithe of what the gallant soldier sacrificed to aid Washington in carrying on the war for independence. How much more honorable it would have been to have recognized his claim while living, and made his last days comfortable, instead of doling out a small sum long after he had mouldered into dust."*

The rage of the Indians against the settlers seemed to increase, if possible, in consequence of the failure of St. Clair. Murder was rife everywhere. Boats passing up and down the rivers were particularly objects of their attack; and sometimes an Indian dressed in the old clothes of a white man would appear alone and unarmed on the shore and lure the occupants of the boats within reach by pretending to be an escaped captive and calling for assistance, when the enemy concealed behind rocks and bushes fired upon them. Even so lately as 1794 a boat that had been put on the Ohio for the purpose of making regular trips between Cincinnati and Pittsburgh was advertised as bullet-proof, armed with six pieces carrying a pound ball, besides a number of good muskets, and amply supplied with ammunition. It must have added a spice of adventure to

* "John of Lancaster" in Dr. Egle's "Notes and Queries," annual volume, 1897, pp. 55-58.

the other charms of travel to hear the sudden discharge of guns on the shore and the patter of leaden hail against the side of the boat in which the good people were all snugly "under cover."

In April, 1792, General Anthony Wayne was appointed to the command of a new army for the invasion of the Miami country. Wayne would accept the appointment only on condition that the complement of men should be full and that time should be given for them to be fully disciplined. He took time enough. He arrived in Pittsburgh in June, 1792. In December he went into winter-quarters with his "legion" in a camp known as Legionville, on the Ohio, near Logstown. In October, 1793, he advanced with his force to a point about eighty miles north of Cincinnati, and erected a fort on the site of the present town of Greenville, Ohio. He remained here until midsummer of 1794, drilling his men and making preparations for his campaign. A detachment was sent forward twenty-three miles north of Greenville, who built a fort on St. Clair's battle-field, which was called Fort Recovery. A fierce battle was fought at this fort on the 30th of June and the 1st of July between a detachment of one hundred and forty soldiers and fifteen hundred Indians, in which the Indians were repulsed with great loss.

In July, 1794, Wayne, with an army of nearly four thousand men, departed for the Indian towns on the Maumee. On the 8th of August he encamped at the junction of the Au Glaize and the Maumee, one hundred and three miles north of Greenville, where he erected Fort Defiance; and on the morning of the 20th

he moved forward to attack the Indians, who were encamped on the Maumee, a little south of the site of Maumee City. As he was advancing his vanguard, under Major Price, was fiercely assaulted by the Indians, who were secreted in the woods and the high grass. Wayne's army was at once drawn up in order. The severe drill that his men had undergone now told its story. The Indians were dislodged at the point of the bayonet, and in the course of an hour were driven back more than two miles. The enemy numbered not less than two thousand. The troops actually engaged with them were less than nine hundred. Wayne's loss was one hundred and thirty-three killed and wounded. The loss to the Indians was greater. The latter were completely broken up and driven away. Wayne remained three days on the battle-field, and destroyed all the houses and cornfields within reach. He then returned to Fort Defiance by easy marches, laying waste the country for about fifty miles on each side of the Maumee.*

"Notwithstanding the signal victory obtained by General Wayne over the Indians," says Withers, "yet did their hostility to the whites lead them to acts of occasional violence, and kept them for some time from acceding to the proposals for peace. In consequence of this their whole country was laid waste and forts erected in the hearts of their settlements at once to starve and awe them into quiet. The desired effect was produced. Their crops being laid waste, their villages

* "The Great West," pp. 161-163.

burned, fortresses erected in various parts of their country and kept well garrisoned, and a victorious army ready to bear down upon them at any instant, there was no alternative left them but to sue for peace." Finally the treaty of Greenville, concluded on the 3d of August, 1795, put a period to the war, and with it to those acts of devastation and death which had so long spread dismay and gloom throughout the land."*

* Withers's "Chronicles of Border Warfare," p. 430.

CHAPTER X

THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION

To meet the necessities of the general government an excise law was passed in the year 1791, laying a tax upon spirituous liquors. A similar law had been passed in 1756, but it had not been enforced with much vigor, and was afterwards repealed. The excise law bore particularly hard upon the people of Southwestern Pennsylvania, and was correspondingly disliked by them. A great deal of rye was grown in the Monongahela Valley, far exceeding the demands of the community. There was no means of transportation except by pack-horses, and a horse could carry only about four bushels of rye. Of course this rendered the exportation of it impracticable; but by converting the grain into whiskey a horse could carry the equivalent of twenty-four bushels of rye. The consequence was that an immense number of small distilleries had sprung up, and a thriving business was done in whiskey.

The people generally were Scotch, or of Scotch-Irish extraction, and had come honestly by both their taste for good whiskey and their dislike of the exciseman.* The colonies had stood shoulder to shoulder in carry-

* Burns, himself an exciseman, gives expression to the popular feeling in regard to gentlemen of his cloth :

“The de’il cam’ fiddling through the town,
And danced awa’ wi’ th’ Exciseman,
And ilka wife cries,—‘Auld Mahoun,
I wish you luck o’ th’ prize, man!’”

ing through the Revolution; but independence of thought and action, individual and State, had as yet hardly crystallized into a sentiment of nationalism. Besides, the French, with whom our people largely sympathized, were in the first stages of that political intoxication which speedily led to the Reign of Terror, and under this rebellion against constituted authority, all personal restraint by government was felt to be an infringement of personal right and liberty. Anyhow, many of the people of this part of Pennsylvania bitterly resented the excise law.

In the outstart of this resistance to government the people were led by many of the most respectable and influential citizens, among them Albert Gallatin, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, General John Gibson, and George Wallace. Afterwards they saw their error and tried to undo it, but with little success. The affair had passed out of their hands and beyond their control; and led by Holcroft, Bradford, and men of that class, it soon developed into a full-fledged rebellion against the government. Pittsburgh, as the chief town in the insurrectionary region, became the principal focus of the movement and shared largely in it.

The insurrection was not entirely a campaign on paper or of mere declamation. It soon passed the point of petitions, representations, and resolutions. General John Neville, a man of the highest character, had been appointed inspector of excise for this district. His home at Bower Hill, a few miles south of Pittsburgh, was burned. The barn of Major Kirkpatrick, a friend of the government, was also burned. The collectors

of the tax were abused, intimidated, and chased away. Several lives were lost. The mails were interrupted and the letter-bags rifled. Armed men, said to have been seven thousand in number, met at Braddock's Field in July, 1794, with the design of marching on Pittsburgh to take vengeance on some of the citizens of the town who had opposed the purposes of the revolutionists. By the adroitness of Brackenridge, who assumed the leadership on the occasion, not to conduct them to acts of violence, but in the hope by diplomacy to steer the multitude clear of serious wrong-doing, no great harm ensued. The men marched to Pittsburgh, passed through the town with a great show of determination, assembled on the point just below old Fort Pitt, and then crossed the river. Brackenridge deserves credit for the manner in which he handled the matter. His motive and his conduct were misunderstood at first, but time and inquiry have shown them to have been patriotic and wise. "The people," he afterwards said, "were mad. It never came into my head to use force on the occasion; I thought it safest to give good words and good drink rather than powder and balls. It cost me four barrels of good whiskey that day, and I would rather spare that than a quart of blood."

However, the proceedings of "Tom the Tinker's men," as they were called, at length became so serious that the government was forced to take decisive steps against them. An army of fifteen thousand men, under command of General Lee, of Virginia, was directed to march into the rebellious region. Washington him-

self accompanied the army as far as Bedford. As this powerful array drew near the insurgents disappeared. An executive committee of twelve, representing the cause, met commissioners of the United States, and terms of peace were agreed upon. But the army, in order to overawe effectually any of the more stubborn malcontents, proceeded on to Pittsburgh, where they arrived in the month of November, 1794. The army, however, soon returned to their homes, except a detachment under General Morgan, which remained upon the spot for some time; but in the following spring, order having been fully restored, they were also withdrawn.

The whiskey insurrection had a vastly wider significance than a mere uprising of a portion of the people in Southwestern Pennsylvania. It was the first occasion in which the government had been called upon to assert itself as against a rebellion of its own people, and the wise intelligence, the lofty patriotism, and the firm hand of Washington alone were competent to deal properly with it.

In the mean time, April 22, 1794, Pittsburgh was incorporated as a borough. George Robinson and Josiah Tannehill were elected the two first-burgesses of the town. The population was likely not far from one thousand. Several industries, as we have seen, had already developed, as boat-building, iron-making, etc. In the year 1797, General James O'Hara and Major Isaac Craig put into operation the first window-glass factory in Pittsburgh. To these industries may be added the lumber business on the Allegheny and the

peltry trade with the hunters and trappers of the wilderness. Chief among the dealers in peltry at Pittsburgh were Peter Maynard and William Morrison.

In December, 1791, orders were sent by General Knox, the Secretary of War, to Major Craig, the deputy quartermaster at Pittsburgh, to procure immediately materials for a block-house and picketed fort at Pittsburgh. Old Fort Pitt had been sold to Turnbull & Marmie, and was fast being dilapidated. The orders were for the new fort to be erected "in such part of Pittsburgh as shall be the best position to cover the town as well as the public stores which shall be forwarded from time to time." The work was set about at once, and May 18, 1792, Major Craig writes to the Secretary that "Captain Hughes, with his detachment, has occupied the barracks in the new fort since the first instant. The work, if you have no objections, I will name Fort Lafayette."* The Secretary approved of the name, and Fort Fayette, as it was more conveniently termed, continued in use until the building of the Allegheny Arsenal in 1814. Fort Fayette stood on the government property at the corner of Garrison Alley and Penn Avenue, in the Fourth Ward.

In October, 1795, Mr. Thomas Chapman, an English gentleman of fortune, arrived in Pittsburgh in the course of a tour he was making of the country. He describes the place as "a thriving town containing at present about two hundred houses, fifty of which are brick and framed, and the remainder log." But as he notes there were two brick-yards in the vicinity, where

* Craig's "History of Pittsburgh," p. 214.

bricks could be had for one guinea per thousand, he predicts that in a few years "all the log houses will be rebuilt, and brick substituted in the room of wood." While in Pittsburgh he stayed "at the sign of the Green Tree." This was a famous hostelry on Water Street, between Wood and Market, kept by Mr. Morrow. Mr. Chapman remained in Pittsburgh about two weeks, and left on the 2d of November in a "Kentucky boat" belonging to Major Craig.*

Water Street was then the most fashionable part of the town. At the corner of Smithfield lived the Hon. James Ross, United States Senator, and below him Adamson Tannehill, Samuel Ewalt, John Ormsby, John Neville, Major Isaac Craig, Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, and near West Street General James O'Hara. The last-named gentleman is to be noted in the early history of the city as one of its most enterprising and successful business men. He was grandfather of Mrs. Mary Schenley, to whom Pittsburgh is in large part indebted for the beautiful park which bears her name. H. H. Brackenridge lived on Market Street, between First and Second Avenues, Judge Addison at the corner of Second Avenue and Smithfield Street, and General Wilkins at the corner of Wood Street and Third Avenue. The town was almost exclusively within the triangle bounded by Smithfield Street and the two rivers. Smithfield Street is said to be so named from the fact that Devereux Smith, one of the early justices of the county, had a field on the line of that thoroughfare.

* See *The Historical Magazine*, June, 1864.

A local incident of those days which caused a good deal of interest in the community was the deposition of Judge Addison. The two great political parties of the country were the Republican and the Federalist parties, corresponding in relation to each other to the Democratic and the Republican parties of the present. Of the Republican party Thomas Jefferson was the great exponent, while George Washington was the chief representative of the Federalist party. The French Revolution, which broke out during Washington's administration, had sharply divided the sentiment of this country. France had been our friend and ally in our time of need; and while all Americans felt a strong friendship for the French people, the wise conservatism of Washington prevented the United States from committing itself too strongly in the interest of France. Jefferson was a decided Francomaniac. The whiskey rebellion had been largely conducted on these party lines. The leaders in that affair were chiefly, if not entirely, Republicans; those who stood by Washington in his efforts to enforce the law were Federalists. Judge Alexander Addison, the first law judge of Allegheny County, was a Federalist. He was a Scotchman by birth, and educated at Edinburgh. In early life he came to America. In 1791 he was appointed president judge of the Fifth Judicial District of Pennsylvania. His fellow-Scot, Brackenridge, the most interesting character in early Pittsburgh, was a bitter Republican and fiercely hostile to Judge Addison.

Through the troublesome times of the whiskey insurrection Judge Addison had stood manfully at his

post. In the year 1801 the Federalist administrations of Washington and Adams ended by the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency. The local enemies of Judge Addison were in the seats of power. In July, 1800, a Frenchman named John B. C. Lucas had been appointed an associate judge of Allegheny County,—on what principle it is difficult to say. He was intensely hostile to Judge Addison, and he seems to have determined from the start to irritate and annoy him. Lucas was not a lawyer,* yet he frequently differed from the judge on points of law, and sometimes went the length of charging petit juries contrary to the views that had been expressed by the president judge. Finally, on one occasion he insisted on charging the grand jury, setting forth views opposite to those that had been expressed by Judge Addison to a previous grand jury. Such assurance on the part of a mere layman seems almost incredible, and could have been the result only of a deliberate purpose.

On this latter occasion he was stopped by Judges Addison and McDowell, who constituted a majority of the court. This seems to have been what Lucas had been playing for, and gave him a pretext for legal proceedings against Judge Addison. An effort was made before the Supreme Court to indict him for misdemeanor in office, but it failed. He then applied to the Legislature, by which Judge Addison was impeached and removed from office, January, 1803, on the most flimsy charges.

* He is said to have practised law two years in France, before coming to America.

"No person can read the report of the trial," says Judge White, "without feeling that it was a legal farce; that gross injustice was done Judge Addison from the beginning to the end, and that the whole proceeding was a disgrace to the State. The trial took place at Lancaster, where the Legislature sat. The House and Senate refused to give him copies of certain papers, or to give assistance in procuring witnesses from Pittsburgh for his defence. The speeches of counsel against him, and the rulings of the Senate on questions raised in the progress of the trial, were characterized by intense partisan feeling. It was not a judicial trial, but a partisan scheme to turn out a political opponent. It resulted in deposing one of the purest, best, and ablest judges that ever sat on the bench in Pennsylvania."* Judge Addison was succeeded in office by Samuel Roberts, a native of Philadelphia, but a practising lawyer of Sunbury when he was appointed to the vacant judgeship. In 1799 H. H. Brackenridge had been appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

One October afternoon in the year 1806 there rode into Pittsburgh an individual who was destined to attract some attention. This was Mr. Thomas Ashe. He was an Irish tourist, and he states on the title-page of his volume of travels that the object of his tour was to explore "the Rivers Allegheny, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and Ascertaining the Produce and

* "The Judiciary of Allegheny County." By J. W. F. White. P. 16.

Condition of their Banks and Vicinity.”* He was a mere adventurer, and some of his “villainies” were long remembered. In Pittsburgh he was known by the name of Arvil, and one old writer says that there “he assumed the manners of a gentleman.” From Pittsburgh Mr. Ashe made various excursions into different quarters of the country; but he did not finally leave the town until the spring of 1807. In this connection he is only important because he has given us a fuller description of Pittsburgh at that period than any other writer. At the same time we must add, he was so untruthful and dishonest that we are obliged to take some of his statements with a good deal of allowance.†

Mr. Ashe came in over the old Forbes Road from Bedford. Of his near approach to Pittsburgh he says it lay through a beautiful valley, than which nothing could be more interesting. It extended three miles on a perfect level, cultivated in the highest degree, bounded by a rising ground on the left and a transparent river on the right. As for the town itself, he doubted if any town in the world could boast of a position superior to this, both as to its beauty and the many advantages which it enjoyed. It then contained about four hundred houses, many of them large and elegantly built of brick, and over two thousand inhabitants. He notes that many manufactures were carried on, especially of glass, nails, hats, and tobacco. Ship-building

* “Travels in America, performed in 1806.” By Thomas Ashe, Esq. Newburyport: 1808.

† For some account of Ashe see Zadok Cramer’s “Navigator” for the year 1818, pp. 224, 225.

he found was extensively carried on, and several vessels were then on the stocks. Goods designed for the Kentucky and Louisiana trade were brought in wagons across the mountains, and here loaded on boats. The term Louisiana was then applied to the vast region west of the Mississippi.

The principal inhabitants of Pittsburgh, he says, were Irish or of Irish origin, which accounted for the commercial spirit of the place and the good breeding and hospitality which in general prevailed throughout it. He mentions several gentlemen of the place as distinguished for the liberality of their character and their generous attention to strangers. The influence of these and many other gentlemen of similar sentiments he thinks was very favorable to the town, and "hindered the vicious propensities of the genuine American character from establishing here the horrid dominion which they assumed over the Atlantic States." Mr. Ashe is enthusiastic in his praise of the ladies of Pittsburgh.

The market-house, which, he observes, stood in a square in the centre of the town, was frequented almost daily, but more particularly on two stated days of the week, by vast numbers of country people, who brought in produce of every description. Excellent beef was sold sometimes for only three cents a pound, good veal at seven cents, pork at three cents. Fine fowls sold for only about a shilling a pair, and partridges, pigeons, and game of various kinds at prices equally reasonable. A haunch of venison brought only half a dollar, and a flitch of bear-meat about one dollar. But-

ter was fourteen cents a pound, eggs five cents a dozen, and milk three cents a quart. Vegetables and fruit were also abundant. Whiskey sold at two shillings a gallon. The best taverns charged half a dollar per day, and boarding, lodging, and washing could be had for one hundred dollars per year.

In the winter sleighing was the favorite amusement. Every young man of a certain condition possessed a good horse and sleigh, and with these they drove with great dexterity through the streets, calling on their acquaintances and taking refreshments "at many an open house,"—as well they might in a town where "excellent porter was brewed at a very cheap rate," and whiskey was but two shillings a gallon. The summer amusements consisted principally "of concerts, evening walks, and rural festivals held in the vicinity of clear springs and under the shade of odoriferous trees,"—by which he means picnics.

In April, 1807, Mr. Ashe left Pittsburgh, passing down the Ohio in a Kentucky boat which he had purchased for forty dollars. "In turning into the stream from Pittsburgh," he says, "I found the scene instantaneously changed and become peculiarly grand. In ten minutes I got into the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegheny waters. For half an hour I steered my boat in this confluence, being able to dip up whitish water on one side and perfectly green on the other. The hills on the right hand were near twelve hundred feet high,—those on the left something less lofty,—each clothed with sumptuous and unceasing timber, from the base to the summit, the garb of many

thousand years, each tree perishing in an imperceptible progression, and each as imperceptibly renewed! The whole and the individual, still appearing the same, always conveying a grand idea of the munificence of Nature and the immutability of all her works. This view was sufficient to lead the mind into a serious contemplation which assumed a character of melancholy, when I reflected on the endless scenes of the same nature, only more pregnant with danger, vicissitude, and death, through which I had to pass."

Among the noteworthy citizens of Pittsburgh in the early part of the century was the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, around whom centres a special interest as the author of "The Manuscript Found"—a book which is generally believed to have formed the base of the "Book of Mormon." Mr. Spaulding's work was never published during his lifetime, nor written with any such object in view as that to which it was applied. By some means his manuscript fell into the hands of Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith, who adapted it to their own purposes. Mr. Spaulding came to Pittsburgh in 1812, removed to Amity, Washington County, in 1814, where he died in 1816.*

The war of 1812 excited great interest in Pittsburgh. It lay so near the scene of operations in the Lake Erie region as to be concerned from local circumstances. As we have seen, much of the war equipment of Perry on the lake and of Jackson at New Orleans was furnished from Pittsburgh. The town also sent two companies to the war,—the Pittsburgh Blues, commanded

* Read "Early Days of Mormonism," by J. H. Kennedy.

by Captain James R. Butler, son of the gallant General Richard Butler, who fell in St. Clair's defeat, and another company under Captain Jeremiah Ferree. Of the latter company but little has been recorded; of the Blues, history has preserved some trace. This company was a military organization that had existed previously to the year 1812, having been organized under the military laws of the State. Upon the opening of hostilities they tendered their services to the government, which were accepted. They were ordered into active service at once, to join the Northwestern troops, commanded by General Harrison.* On the 23d of September, 1812, they embarked on keel-boats, and moved down the Ohio to join the army on the Maumee. They numbered sixty men. At the battle of the Mississinawa River, on the 18th of the following November, they distinguished themselves, where their well-directed fire relieved the dragoons of Major Ball, who had for some time sustained the onset of the enemy;† also at Fort Meigs, May 5, 1813, and at Fort Sandusky, under Major Croghan, August 2 of the same year.

At the siege of Fort Meigs two of the Blues, James Newman and William Richardson, were killed by the same bullet. Newman was standing up, while Richardson, who was just behind him, was stooping down, picking his gun flint, when a bullet fired by an Indian concealed in a tree passed through the body of Newman and into that of Richardson, killing them both.

* Parke's "Recollections of Seventy Years," p. 33.

† Brackenridge's "History of the Late War," p. 65.

"Behold yon band whose lightning gleams afar,—
'Tis Butler's corps so lately crown'd with fame;
By Freedom roused they bravely lead the war,
And pluck the honors of a spotless name.
On Maumee's banks they've met their steel-clad foes,
Loud shouts proclaim the contest now begun;
With bay'nets fixed they front to front oppose,
Whilst clouds of smoke obscure the distant sun.

* * * * *

Curst war, away! let peace return once more;
Come, gentle peace, we'll meet thy fond embrace,
Thou hast the means our blessings to restore,
And raise again the smile on beauty's face."*

* These lines from "A Fragment" on the death of J. Newman I find in an old school-book, "An Essay on the Origin and Structure of Language," by N. Vernon. Frederick City, Md.:

CHAPTER XI

PUBLIC THOROUGHFARES

THE roads and water-ways of a country have a vast influence in its development and final character. In regard to the second of these, nature had been most generous to Pittsburgh. The noble Allegheny on one side and the placid Monongahela on the other converging together at this place and here forming the beautiful Ohio furnish a natural highway of infinite value. The earliest road to this point was Forbes's Road. It has already been described. Braddock's Road stopped short at the scene of his disaster. At Bedford a branch of Forbes's Road led southward to Cumberland, where it joined Braddock's Road. Thus at Bedford Forbes's Road separated into two strands, one leading down into the Potomac Valley and the other pursuing a course nearly due east through Carlisle and Lancaster to Philadelphia.

"Nature," says an old writer, "has done much for Pennsylvania in regard to inland water carriage, which is strikingly exemplified by this fact, that although Philadelphia and Lake Erie are distant from each other above three hundred miles, there is no doubt but that the rivers of the State may be so improved as to reduce the land carriage between them nine-tenths. In the same way the navigation to Pittsburgh, after due improvement, may be used instead of land carriage for the whole distance except twenty-three miles."

Again, the same writer says: "The south side of Pennsylvania is the best settled land throughout, owing

entirely to the circumstance of the western road having been run by the armies, prior to 1762, through the towns of Lancaster, Carlisle, and Bedford, and thence to Pittsburgh. For the purpose of turning the tide of settlers from this old channel into the unsettled parts of the State the government and landed interest of Pennsylvania have been and are still busy in cutting convenient roads. . . . It is now in contemplation to cut a road from Sunbury, at the forks of the east and west branches of Susquehanna, west one hundred and fifty miles to the mouth of Toby's Creek, which empties into the Allegheny River from the east. . . . Another road is cut from Huntingdon town, on Frankstown branch of the Juniata, westward to Conemaugh, a navigable branch of the Allegheny." These two roads would be highly contributory to the interests of Pittsburgh. "The populous parts of the State," he adds, "can, at present, bear the expense of turnpike-roads. One from Philadelphia to Lancaster has lately been completed, which shortens the distance between these places eight miles; and others are in contemplation."*

The map of Pennsylvania in Morse's Geography, 1796, shows three roads leading directly to Pittsburgh: one, as straight as a ruler can make it, westward from a point on the upper waters of the Juniata where stood the ancient Indian village of Frankstown; another west and northwest from Philadelphia through Carlisle and Bedford; and a third northeast from Ryerson's,

* Morse's "American Universal Geography." Boston: 1796. Pp. 537, etc.

in the southwestern corner of the State, through the town of Washington. The first of the above-described roads was what was called the Frankstown Road. It was a famous thoroughfare in its day. In March, 1787, an act of the Legislature was passed appointing commissioners "to lay out a State highway, between the waters of the Frankstown branch of the Juniata and the river Conemaugh." The road was opened to the mouth of the Blacklick by the close of the year 1789. It was extended to Pittsburgh about the year 1793 or 1794. It was no doubt a rude enough road; but for many years it served as the main channel of communication between the Juniata and the Allegheny Valleys. Reminiscences of it still linger at Blairsville, and perhaps at other points. Frankstown Avenue, one of the thoroughfares of Pittsburgh, is a reminder of this old-time highway.

The turnpike between Philadelphia and Lancaster, mentioned in the quotation above, had been built in the year 1792, and for many years was the only road of the kind in the Union. It was a matter of great pride to the good people of that part of the State. "To this day," says McMaster, 1885, "in every town along the route, old men may be found who delight to recall the times when the pike was in its prime, when trade was brisk, when tavern-keepers grew rich, when the huge sheds were crowded with the finest horses, and when thousands of Conestoga wagons went into Philadelphia each week creaking under the yield of the dairy and the produce of the famous Pennsylvania farms."

In the first score of years in the beginning of the century turnpike roads were gradually introduced into different parts of the country, and for some time they seemed to be all that could be wished for or obtained. A turnpike from Pittsburgh east, going through Blairsville, Ebensburg, Hollidaysburg, and so on to Philadelphia, was opened for travel at the beginning of the year 1819. Other roads of the same kind led out from the city in various directions. Along the line of these roads sprang up villages and roadside inns. Stage lines were put on,—the “Pioneer,” the “Good Intent,” or whatever,—and men whose hair is frosted with years remember well the dashing vehicle,—“green picked out wi’ red,—three yellow wheels and a black ane,”*—in all the glory of paint and gold-leaf; and the caravans of heavy, canvas-covered wagons, “turnpike schooners,” drawn by six or eight horses each, all jingling with scores of bells, moving leisurely along over the Pennsylvania hills. The superiority of the turnpike over the old-style roads of alternate mud and “corduroy” may be seen in the fact set forth by Trego, “that whereas formerly it required a team of five or six good horses from eighteen to twenty-five days to haul a load of three thousand pounds from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, afterwards, when the turnpike was completed across the mountains, the same team could transport a load twice as heavy between the same two places in twelve or fifteen days.”†

* Mrs. Macleuchar in “The Antiquary.”

† “A Geography of Pennsylvania.” By Charles B. Trego. Philadelphia: 1843. P. 151.

But the spirit of progress was abroad, and the vaunted turnpike soon failed to answer the demands of the times. In 1824 an act was passed authorizing the appointment by the governor of three commissioners to explore a route for a canal from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh, by the waters of the Juniata and Conemaugh Rivers. In the next year an act was passed for the appointment of a board of canal commissioners, and ordering surveys for canals to be made in different parts of the State; among them, "one from Philadelphia through Chester and Lancaster Counties, and thence by the west branch of the Susquehanna and the waters thereof to the Allegheny and Pittsburgh; also from the Allegheny to Lake Erie; and one other from Philadelphia by the Juniata to Pittsburgh, and from thence to Lake Erie."

By the act of February 25, 1826, the canal commissioners were directed to locate and put under contract a canal on the east side of the Susquehanna River, from the mouth of the Swatara to a point opposite the mouth of the Juniata, and one from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Kiskiminetas; thus commencing two sections of the main line of communication from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. By subsequent acts of the Legislature the main line of public improvements was extended by a canal up the Juniata to Lewistown, and up the Kiskiminetas and Conemaugh to Blairsville. Surveys were also ordered to be made of the route across the Allegheny Mountains from Frankstown on the Juniata to Johnstown on the Conemaugh, with a view of determining whether the portage should be

by "a smooth and permanent road of easy graduation, or by a railway with locomotive and stationary engines or otherwise." It was decided to build a railway; and the result was the famous Portage Railroad. It was opened for use in March, 1834. By the construction of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad and further extensions of the canal there was finally provided a continuous line of canal and railway communication between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Other canals were made at the same time in other parts of the State, but they do not come into our present purpose. The first canal-boat to enter Pittsburgh was the packet from Blairsville, which arrived August 9, 1829.*

The western division of the canal crossed the Allegheny by an aqueduct at the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, and followed down the western side of the river to Allegheny-town. Here one branch followed along the line of Lacock Street to the river near Balkam Street. Another branch crossed the Allegheny by an aqueduct to the Pittsburgh side. At the intersection of Penn Avenue and Eleventh Street was what was called the Basin. From this point were short lateral branches leading off to the warehouse slips; while the canal itself passed up Eleventh Street across Liberty to the line of Seventh Avenue, where it entered a tunnel a short distance below the present entrance to the tunnel of the Panhandle Railroad, and passed under Grant's Hill, coming out on the Monongahela River near Try Street.† After the construction of the line between

* *Pittsburgh Gazette*, August 11, 1829.

† See Thurston's "Allegheny County's Hundred Years," p. 244.

Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, says Trego, merchandise and produce could be transported from one of these cities to the other in six or seven days, at an average cost of one cent per pound, while travellers could perform the trip in from two to four days at less than one-half the expense of the stage.

The first railroad from Pittsburgh was the Fort Wayne and Chicago, which was completed as far as Beaver in the year 1851. In 1852 the Pennsylvania Central was opened for travel from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia. Other railroads speedily followed. The canal had been of vast advantage in its day. It had not only furnished more rapid transportation and cheaper rates, but it gave employment to large numbers of men and opportunities for investment to small capitalists. Any man with three or four hundred dollars could fit out a boat, hire a crew, and embark in the business of transportation. But the canal soon outlived its usefulness. Not only did the railroads come into competition with it, but from the first it had been saddled by incompetent, dishonest, and corrupt officials. Being a State institution, the positions were filled by mere placemen, and instead of being a source of revenue to the State, as it would have been under proper management, its drafts upon the public treasury were constant and heavy. It soon came to be known as "the old State robber." As early as 1843, Trego wrote of it: "If the system of public works undertaken had been less extensive in the beginning, and had been confined at first to the main line between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, with the addition of the

Delaware division, and these had been constructed with a strict regard to the public interest alone, and managed afterwards with prudence and economy, the favorable anticipations of the people would doubtless have been realized. But in order to obtain votes in the Legislature for the commencement of the main lines it was deemed expedient to push the improvements into every practicable part of the State, that as many as possible should partake of the expected benefit. The consequence has been the lavish expenditure of millions on lines as yet unproductive; while a system of management directed by party politics, and the employment of countless swarms of public agents as a reward for political services, without due regard to their character or qualifications, have not only absorbed the whole revenue derived from the finished lines, but have brought the State annually in debt for their maintenance."*

The construction of the Pennsylvania Railroad between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, pursuing through a large part of its way a parallel course with the canal, did away with the need of the latter. This, together with the mismanagement and maladministration of the public works, whereby they had become an incubus upon the State, resulted finally in the sale of the main line by authority of the Legislature in 1857 to the Pennsylvania Railroad for the sum of seven and one-half million dollars. Some parts of the line were kept in running order for a short time; but in a few years

* Trego's "Geography of Pennsylvania," p. 149.

all that part of it west of Hollidaysburg was entirely abandoned as a thoroughfare. The West Penn Railroad from Pittsburgh to Blairsville lies in great part of its way along the line of the old canal.

In January, 1804, an "Office of Discount and Deposit" was opened in Pittsburgh,—the first regularly organized banking institution in the place. It was a branch of the "Bank of Pennsylvania," which had been chartered by the State in 1793. Of the Pittsburgh branch bank John Wilkins was president and Thomas L. Wilson cashier. "The Bank of Pittsburgh," properly the first Pittsburgh bank, had been organized in 1810 as the "Pittsburgh Manufacturing Company;" but in 1814 was chartered under the name it still bears, and was organized for business in November of that year. William Wilkins was elected president and Alexander Johnstone, Jr., cashier of the bank.

By act of the Legislature, March 18, 1816, Pittsburgh was incorporated as a city. The population of the town in the year 1800 was 1565; in 1810 it was 4768; and in 1820 it was 7248. In 1790 there was in Allegheny County a population of 10,309, of whom 159 were slaves. In the year 1800 there were but 79 slaves.* In the decade from 1810 to 1820 there was a gain of 2480 souls, or an average yearly gain of 248; so that we may believe the population in 1816 to have been 6256. The first mayor chosen was Ebenezer Denny. He served in that office from July 9, 1816, to July 20, 1817. Mr. Denny was born in Carlisle in the

* See table in *Pittsburgh Commercial*, January 17, 1867.

year 1761, and came to Pittsburgh as a despatch boy in 1774, when only thirteen years old. He served in the Revolution; and in the return of officers of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, September 23, 1783, he appears as a lieutenant. He was also adjutant to General Harmer in 1790, and an aide to General St. Clair in 1791. Mayor Denny was for many years one of the leading men of Pittsburgh.

Meantime, the manufacturing enterprises of the town kept pace with the increase in other respects. Its fame as a manufacturing town was already widespread. In the year 1817 a return of manufacturing establishments was taken by order of the City Councils, when it was ascertained that there were 248 factories of various kinds, employing 1280 hands, and 111 other industries, entitled trades, employing 357 men. Many of the so-called factories could have been little more than workshops, as altogether they averaged only about five hands to each establishment. In the same year, 1817, Mr. Morris Birkbeck, an English tourist, visited Pittsburgh. "Here I expected," he says, "to have been enveloped in clouds of smoke, issuing from a thousand furnaces, and stunned with the din of a thousand hammers. I confess I was much disappointed by Pittsburgh. A century and a half ago, perhaps, Birmingham might have admitted a comparison with Pittsburgh." Nevertheless, Mr. Birkbeck found the city, as he says, "a very interesting and important place." Journeymen in the various mechanical arts earned two dollars per day. But he says that many of them are wasteful and improvident, spending

their money not so much in vicious and dissolute practices as in excursions and entertainments. "Ten dollars spent at a ball," he remarks, "is no rare result of the gallantry of a Pittsburgh journeyman."

A very different impression did another visitor a few years later get from his first view of Pittsburgh. "Pittsburgh was hidden from our view," he says, "until we descended through the hills within half a mile of the Allegheny River. Dark, dense smoke was rising from many parts, and a hovering cloud of this vapor, obscuring the prospect, rendered it singularly gloomy. Indeed, it reminded me of the smoking logs of a new field."* There is something very remarkable in these early notices of the Pittsburgh atmosphere. Major Forman, as early as 1789, as we have seen, speaks of the coal smoke, and says that it was such "as to affect the skin of the inhabitants." Pittsburgh being, as he says, a great manufacturing place, he attributed the smoke, as men have ever since done, to the coal used as a fuel in the town; whereas we have seen what the town was, and what the manufacturing interests were in his day, and not one of them contributed more to the dinginess of the atmosphere than an ordinary blacksmith-shop. For domestic use no doubt wood, which was cheap and abundant, was generally used. Zadok Cramer in the *Navigator*, 1808, says of Pittsburgh that on "entering the town the stranger

* "Diary of a Journey," p. 50. [Ramsay's?] The title-page of the only available copy of this book is wanting, so that neither the author's name nor the date of the publication can be certainly known.

is rather offended with its dark and heavy appearance. This arises from the smoke of the coal, which is used as a common fuel, and of which about one hundred and seventy thousand bushels are consumed annually. It costs six cents a bushel at your door, and is said to be equal to any in the world." At this time the population of Pittsburgh was about four thousand, and the chief manufacturing enterprises of the town were an air-furnace and four nail-factories. How the consumption of about four hundred and sixty-five bushels of coal in a day could have greatly affected the atmosphere over a wide region of country is not very apparent. Without following the matter down into more recent times, we may add this from James Stuart, a Scotch traveller, who visited our town in the year 1832: "Pittsburgh is well known as the great manufacturing city of Western America, and would be a very delightful place of residence but for the clouds of coal smoke which cover it and give a gloomy cast to the beautiful hills which surround it and to all the neighboring country."*

But the smoke, according to the author of the "Diary of a Journey," who was evidently a very minute and careful observer, was not an unmixed evil. "Our common fruit-trees do well in Pittsburgh," he says. "The peach, the plum, the apple, and the cherry abound on the branches, though the frosts have been

* "Three Years in North America." By James Stuart, Esq., vol. ii. p. 475. This Mr. Stuart was the slayer of Sir Alexander Boswell, eldest son of Johnson's biographer, in a duel at Auchtertool, in Scotland, March 26, 1822.

severe. Much of this exemption ought to be ascribed to the smoke, which constantly, day and night, loads the atmosphere over this place. But this benefit is not without its counterpoise. Often descending in whirls through the streets, it tarnishes every object to which it has access. The gloomy appearance thus imparted to the houses, especially to those of wood, whether painted or not, is such as instantly to fix the attention of a stranger." The writer was a Quaker gentleman from Cayuga County, New York, whose experience hitherto had been confined to the smoking logs of a clearing. He was much interested in the industrial establishments of the place. "The slitting and rolling mill," he says, "together with the nail-factory of Stackpole & Whiting, is moved by a steam-engine of seventy horse-power.* These we visited with much satisfaction. On entering the southwest door, the eye catches the majestic beam, and at the same instant nine nailing-machines, all in rapid motion, burst on the view. Bewildered by the varying velocity of so many new objects, we stood astonished at this sublime effort of human ingenuity.

"The plate, to be cut into nails, is fixed in an iron cramp with a short wooden handle. The workman is seated, and with a motion of the arm, like a smith who turns his iron under the hammer, he alternately inverts the plate to keep the end square. The breadth of the nail is accurately gauged, as in other nailing

* This mention of Stackpole & Whiting's nail-factory would fix the date of the "Diary of a Journey" as 1818 or 1819. Stackpole & Whiting failed in 1819.

machines; but at the instant of its separation, and before it can move, it is clamped to the spot by a strong iron jaw, which leaves the broader end to project, while an iron mallet at one blow completes the head.

"While J. R. held his watch I made several attempts to count the number of strokes in a minute, but the motion was too quick. The nails would ascertain it, but we never saw the workman keep pace with the machine for a minute. Knowing, however, that between three and four may be counted in a second, I compute the strokes at two hundred and forty. The smaller nails are cut cold, but the plates for brads are heated. The quantity made is about one and a half tons per day, and twenty cents a pound is the common retail price.

"Two cotton-factories, one woollen-factory, one paper-mill, two saw-mills, and one flour-mill are all moved by steam in this city and in its suburbs across the Monongahela. Four glass-factories, two for flint and two for green, are very extensive; and the productions of the former for elegance of workmanship are scarcely surpassed by European manufacture. It is sent in many directions from this place; one of the proprietors assured me that Philadelphia receives a part, but the great outlet is down the Ohio.

"The vast advantages that accrue to this place from its coal will be appreciated when we consider that almost every manufacture owes its existence to this article of fuel. The glass-houses, the furnaces for castings, the steam-engines, and every domestic fire-

place are supplied from the mines. These are situated near the tops of the hills, in every direction from the city; and the vast mass of earth that once buried this plain appears to have been removed by the waters. A correct idea will be had by supposing (and even believing) that the stratum of coal once extended across from hill to hill several hundred feet above where the city now stands.

“The shafts of these mines extend far into the hills. The pick-axe and the shovel are the instruments used; and on wheel-barrows the coal is removed to the entrance, where it is placed on scaffolding, from which wagons are conveniently loaded. The citizens are supplied in their yards for seven or eight cents a bushel.”

In April, 1845, a great disaster befell Pittsburgh. At noon of the 10th day of that month a fire started at the southeast corner of Second Avenue and Ferry Street, which extended with the utmost rapidity until it had swept bare a space of fifty-six acres, destroying nine hundred and eighty-two buildings and involving a loss of nearly three and a half millions of dollars.* The fire extended along the Monongahela side of the town from its place of beginning to the point where the Tenth Street bridge across that river now stands, while inwardly it was bounded by Fourth Avenue to Wood Street, and from Wood by Diamond Street to Ross Street. The destruction was complete over the

* The statistics of the fire have been variously estimated, the money loss running from three to ten millions of dollars. The figures we give above are from Harper's "Book of Facts," 1895, p. 638.

burned district. Household goods and merchandise that had been carried out on the wharf caught fire and were consumed. The wooden bridge at Smithfield was burned. Thousands of people were left homeless, and many of them were compelled to sleep in the open air. What the fire had spared was in many cases carried off by thieves. The distress was great. The Legislature immediately passed a bill appropriating fifty thousand dollars and exempting the sufferers from the payment of taxes for four years. Private contributions, some from foreign countries, were also sent to their relief, and besides large quantities of groceries and clothing, nearly eight hundred thousand dollars in money was distributed to the applicants for aid. But two lives were lost in the fire.

With the aid extended to them the people were enabled to rebuild their homes, and the city soon recovered itself. In the course of three months no fewer than two hundred buildings had been erected. Most of them were of a better character than those which had previously occupied the ground.

The patriotism of the people of Pittsburgh has always been conspicuous. In the Mexican War the quota of troops for Allegheny County was but three companies, and this was speedily filled by the Duquesne Grays, Captain John Herron; the Pittsburgh Blues, Captain Alexander Hays; and the Irish Greens, Captain Robert Porter. These companies left Pittsburgh on the 25th of December, 1846, reached New Orleans, January 1, 1847, and landed near Vera Cruz on the 9th of the following March. They took part

in all the active operations of Scott's army in his march to the City of Mexico.

But while Pittsburgh was thus developing as we have seen, the settlements on the farther banks of the river had grown into prosperous towns. Allegheny, now the third city in the State, was incorporated as a borough in April, 1828, and a city in April, 1840. General William Robinson was elected first mayor of Allegheny.

On the eastern bank of the Monongahela had grown up a number of thriving manufacturing villages, Birmingham, Temperanceville, etc. These villages, by act of Assembly, March 29, 1872, were consolidated with Pittsburgh, and added a population of thirty-five thousand to the city. Other suburbs to the eastward have also been taken within the city limits, so that at the end of the nineteenth century Pittsburgh ranks as the second city in the State, and one of the chief cities of the Union.

CHAPTER XII

THREE DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

MONDAY, the 29th of May, 1825, was a gala-day in Pittsburgh, for on that day Lafayette, the idol of the people, arrived in the city in the course of his tour of the United States. He had been invited by President Monroe, at the request of Congress, to be the nation's guest. Forty years had passed since he had been in America, and he was now a venerable man of three-score-and-ten. He spent a year in this country, and visited every one of the twenty-four States of the Union. He was everywhere greeted with enthusiasm and affection, and Congress granted him two hundred thousand dollars and twenty-four thousand acres of land.

After visiting Uniontown and the residence of Albert Gallatin, Lafayette, on the 28th of May, proceeded to Elizabeth, where he, with his party, embarked in a four-oared boat and were rowed down the Monongahela to Braddock's Field, which they reached about sunset. Some time was spent in viewing the famous battle-field and discussing the memorable action that had transpired there just seventy years before. Even at that late day the plough could not trace a furrow "without turning up bones whitened by time and fragments of arms corroded by rust." At Braddock's Field he was entertained by George Wallace, Esq., at his elegant mansion, who received him with the utmost cordiality. A large deputation of citizens of Pitts-

burgh here greeted the general, and next morning at daylight Captain Murray's troop of light dragoons arrived to serve as an escort to the city.

We have no minute details of that great occasion, but enough is on record to enable us to get a pretty clear idea of the affair. The entire route from Braddock's Field to Pittsburgh, we are informed, was "covered with people," in the midst of whom the cavalcade advanced slowly towards the city. On the way the arsenal was visited, and a discharge of twenty-four guns announced the arrival of Lafayette. Major Churchill and the officers of the garrison entertained the distinguished visitor at breakfast. Upon leaving the arsenal he was conducted to "Bell's cloverfield," where the local military companies, under command of General Wilkins, were drawn up to receive him.

Just where this cloverfield, which seems to have been a familiar spot to our fathers, was situated it is impossible now to say, but it was likely near the line of Penn Avenue, and perhaps not far from the arsenal. Leaving the field of the military review, Lafayette resumed his way, and was received into the city by Mayor Darragh and the board of aldermen at the head of the people. He entered the place in a barouche drawn by four white horses, and was conducted to Darlington's Hotel, on Wood Street. In front of the hotel the school-children were drawn up in line, and Lafayette saluted them as he passed. Immediately following the general's barouche came three carriages containing veterans of the Revolution. These were Joseph Patterson, Alexander Gray, Galbreath Wilson,

Richard Sparrow, Thomas Vaughn, David Morse, Thomas Rae, Elijah Clayton, and John Bamwell. It is proper to record their names once more as the latest survivors in this community of the immortal band who laid the foundations of our great country. These old soldiers dined with the general at Darlington's on Monday and at Ramsay's on the following day. Among them was an aged man, who, when presented to Lafayette, asked the general if he had forgotten the young soldier who first offered to carry him on a litter when he was wounded at the battle of Brandywine. Lafayette regarded him for a moment and then exclaimed: "No, I have not forgotten Wilson; and it is a great happiness to be permitted to greet you this day." Lafayette also recognized in the Rev. Joseph Patterson another of his ancient comrades of the Revolution. At the conclusion of his visit to Pittsburgh Lafayette presented Mr. Wilson with a gold-headed cane.

The chief historian of the occasion is M. Levasseur, who was secretary to Lafayette during his American tour; and his book,* which was published shortly afterwards, ekes out the little information we have in regard to Lafayette's visit to our city. His account is rather brief. He remarks, with the air of one oppressed with ennui, that he had been obliged to describe so many triumphal entries into great and rich cities in the course of that tour that he was compelled to pass some of them by in silence. "It is for this rea-

* "Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825." By A. Levasseur. Philadelphia: 1829.

son," he says, "I omit the account of his reception at the National Hotel at Pittsburgh; although that city yielded to no other in the United States in the splendor of her festivals and in the expression of her sentiments of patriotic gratitude." This was saying a good deal for Pittsburgh, which was at that time a town of only ten or twelve thousand inhabitants on the little plain at the foot of Grant's Hill.

"I will not, however," adds M. Levasseur, "quit Pittsburgh without paying my tribute of admiration to the eloquence of Mr. Shaler, who addressed the general in the name of the citizens, and that of Mr. Gazzam, charged with the presentation of the children of the public schools. These two orators, so remarkable for elevation of thought and elegance of expression, obtained the approbation of their auditors and excited in the heart of him whom they addressed the most profound sentiments of gratitude." The orators here mentioned were the Hon. Charles Shaler, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and Mr. Edward D. Gazzam, afterwards a distinguished physician of Pittsburgh and State senator of Allegheny County.

The day following the reception Lafayette devoted to an inspection of the town. "He was struck by the excellence and perfection of the processes employed in the various workshops which he examined," says M. Levasseur; "but that which interested him above all was the manufacture of glass, some patterns of which were presented to him, that for clearness and transparency might have been admired even by the side of

the glass of Baccarat." Two of these "patterns" were cut-glass vases, presented by Bakewell, Page & Bakewell. In the Carnegie Library, Allegheny, may be seen a photographic fac-simile of a note of thanks from Lafayette to Bakewell & Co. for this present. He carried the vases with him on his return to France.

Such is the account of Lafayette's visit to Pittsburgh, as we can make it out from the very meagre records at hand. It was a great event in the annals of the town, and well deserves to be remembered.

The Pittsburgher who opened his *Morning Chronicle*, Tuesday morning, March 29, 1842, read there the simple announcement that at about half-past nine o'clock of the evening before Charles Dickens and lady had arrived in the city, on their way to St. Louis, and had taken lodgings at the Exchange Hotel. "We understood," says the editor, "that the managers have given him an invitation to visit the Theatre to-night." That was all the notice the arrival of the great novelist received at the hands of the *Morning Chronicle*. It reminds one of the welcome of the Micawbers at Plymouth. "It is truly painful to contemplate mankind in such an aspect, Master Copperfield," said Mrs. Micawber, "but our reception was decidedly cool." Many others, however, were more demonstrative.

Dickens had come on one of D. Leech & Co.'s "Express" packets from Johnstown. On his return to Europe, as all good Englishmen were bound to do, he published a book* descriptive of his travels in America. As he drew near to Pittsburgh, "furnace

* "American Notes for General Circulation."

fires," he says, "and clanking hammers on the banks of the canal warned us that we approached the termination of this part of our journey. After going through a dreamy place,—a long aqueduct across another Allegheny River, which was stronger than the bridge at Harrisburg, being a vast, low, wooden chamber full of water,—we emerged upon that ugly confusion of backs of buildings and crazy galleries and stairs which always abuts on water, whether it be river, sea, canal, or ditch, and were at Pittsburgh." Here Dickens parted from his fellow-passenger, the man "from the brown forests of the Mississippi," and stepping upon the wharf of the old Basin at the corner of Eleventh and Penn, he was warmly greeted by a little man whom he calls D. G., whom he had known in London ten years before, and who was now a portrait-painter in Pittsburgh. He was delighted to see Dickens, and the latter seems to have been equally pleased to meet his old friend in this remote place. We have not been able to identify D. G.

The Exchange Hotel, where Dickens and his wife lodged, was at the corner of Penn and St. Clair Streets, now Penn Avenue and Sixth Street, likely on the site of the present Anderson Hotel. He was received in Pittsburgh with even more than the usual demonstrations of good will. In his letters to his friends he speaks particularly of his enthusiastic reception in Pittsburgh. People flocked to see him, and for the time being the Exchange Hotel was the Mecca towards which all the better class of our citizens turned. But for some reason Dickens seems to have taken a

dislike to Pittsburgh. In his book he gives it only very scanty notice. "Pittsburgh is like Birmingham in England," he says; "at least, its townspeople say so. Setting aside the streets, the shops, the houses, wagons, factories, public buildings, and population, perhaps it may be. It certainly has a great quantity of smoke hanging about it, and is famous for its iron-works. It is very beautifully situated on the Allegheny River, over which there are two bridges; and the villas of the wealthier citizens, sprinkled about the high grounds in the neighborhood, are pretty enough. We lodged at a most excellent hotel, and were admirably served. As usual, it was full of boarders, was very large, and had a broad colonnade to every story of the house." That is all he has to say about it.

Dickens remained in Pittsburgh three days. On the 1st day of April he went aboard the steamboat "Messenger" and departed for Cincinnati. In noticing the departure of Dickens from the city the local journalist says: "He was not bespattered with that fulsome praise with which he was bedaubed in the East, and which, we have not the least doubt, was as disagreeable to himself as it was sickening to all sensible men. . . . Many of our citizens called upon him, and were delighted with the man whose writings had contributed so greatly to their enjoyment."*

Though the editor of the *Chronicle* thus attempted to minimize the occasion, the fact is that Dickens was greatly lionized in Pittsburgh,—remarkably so. Yet he made a rather ungracious return for the idolatry

* *The Morning Chronicle*, April 2, 1842.

which was paid to him. Not only did he give scant notice of the town in his book, but in his private correspondence, some of which has been published by Forster, he treats our people with small courtesy. Among those who crowded his receptions he says were some "very queer customers,"—among them was one, "a gentleman with his inexpressibles imperfectly buttoned and his waistband resting on his thighs, who stood behind the half-opened door, and could by no temptation or inducement be prevailed upon to come out." Another of his visitors he describes as having "one eye and one fixed gooseberry, who stood in a corner, motionless, like an eight-day clock, and glared upon me, as I courteously received the Pittsburghians."* It was hardly kind to write in such terms, even in private correspondence, of people who did all they could to make his stay among them pleasant; but Dickens's disposition to banter and caricature was irrepressible.

In the early part of December, 1851, Louis Kossuth arrived in the United States. He had been governor of Hungary, and had headed an unsuccessful revolt against Austria, and had been seized and consigned to prison. While in prison he had asked for a copy of the English Bible and Shakespeare, and with these books he sat down to master the language. And he did acquire a mastery of it that has been equalled by few among the millions who have found it their native tongue. He was a romantic, eloquent man; and upon his release from prison he visited the principal

* Forster's "Life of Dickens," vol. i. p. 373.

cities of England and the United States, and by his wonderful eloquence and thrilling story he won the hearts of men and enlisted the sympathies of untold thousands in the cause of Hungary.

In view of his expected visit to Pittsburgh a public meeting was called at two o'clock, Saturday afternoon, December 27, to arrange for his reception. The meeting was held in the Supreme Court room, which was crowded with citizens of all parties and occupations, and all shades of religious views. Hon. Moses Hampton presided. A long list of prominent citizens were named as vice-presidents. D. N. White, Lecky Harper, H. Mustler, J. G. Backofen, and J. Heron Foster were appointed secretaries. A committee on resolutions was designated, consisting of W. W. Irwin, J. H. Sewell, Colonel S. W. Black, James McAulay, Morrison Foster, Wm. A. Irwin, W. W. Dallas, James Schoonmaker, R. Biddle Roberts, John Morrison, S. McClurkan, Samuel Fahnestock, and W. J. Rose. Stirring addresses were made by Moses Hampton, T. J. Fox Alden, Thomas M. Marshall, Dr. E. D. Gazzam, Colonel Samuel W. Black, and Charles Naylor. A long series of ringing resolutions were then presented by Mr. Irwin, the chairman of the committee, and adopted by the meeting with great enthusiasm.* In fact, so great was the feeling and excitement over the coming of Kossuth that almost every other topic was ignored, and the editor of the *Gazette*, December 31, felt constrained to apologize in a manner for giving so much of his space to this subject; but

* *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, December 29, 1851.

"if any of our readers are tired of the subject," he says, "we pray them to recollect that not many great men are born in a century, and that never before has so sublime a spectacle been presented to the world of an exiled, penniless, untitled man being received by a great people with such distinguished honor and such profound respect, and that respect and that honor so worthily bestowed." A numerous executive committee, headed by Hon. J. B. Guthrie, Hon. H. S. Fleming, and Colonel S. W. Black, had been appointed by the chairman of the citizens' meeting. Truly, Pittsburgh was in a frame of mind to give the great Hungarian a royal welcome.

But Kossuth's progress towards Pittsburgh was very slow. The patience of the good people would hardly keep. A meeting of clergymen was held in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church on Sixth Street, now Sixth Avenue, on the 12th of January, and a committee appointed to prepare "a suitable address and resolutions, expressive of the feelings of the clergy of Allegheny County with regard to Kossuth."* At this meeting the Rev. Dr. Homer J. Clark occupied the chair and Rev. Mr. Paxton acted as secretary. An elaborate programme was also prepared by the reception committee. The route laid out for the street parade was "down Penn to Hay Street, along Hay to Liberty, down Liberty to Short, along Short to Water, up Water to Smithfield, up Smithfield to Fifth, down Fifth to Wood, down Wood to the St. Charles Hotel." William Larimer, Jr., was chief marshal. Everything

* *Gazette*, January 13, 1852.

was in readiness, but Kossuth did not come. Tuesday, January 20, the *Gazette* remarks: "The deep snow on the mountains has prevented the arrival of Kossuth, and all the arrangements will, of necessity, have to be deferred."

For so it was. Kossuth was snow-bound on the Alleghenies. On Saturday, the 17th, he had proceeded to the Mountain House, at what is now Cresson, where he remained over Sunday. The snow had fallen to such a depth that all operations on the Portage Railroad had ceased. At Hollidaysburg he had been obliged to resort to the sleigh. In his party were fifteen persons. The snow was deep. The weather was intensely cold. The accommodations at the Mountain House were not very good. Though Kossuth himself was not charged with engaging in the junketing, much good wine and many other delicacies were consumed there by his party, and the landlord's charges for the day or two amounted to four hundred and eighty dollars, which caused a good deal of grumbling on the part of some who did not share in it, as the State was called on to foot the bill.

All communication across the mountains was cut off. To the people of Pittsburgh Kossuth was simply lost somewhere between Hollidaysburg and the Smoky City. In his suite were Francis and Theresa Pulszky, husband and wife, and between them they afterwards brought out a book* descriptive of Kossuth's tour in America, from which we extract some notes of this

* "White, Red, Black. Sketches of American Society," etc. By Francis and Theresa Pulszky. New York: 1853.

part of his journey. "On our way over the mountains," say they, "we suffered much from the intense cold in the open sledges. We had to put hot bricks under our feet and to cover ourselves with buffalo-robcs. The country through which we drove is inhabited nearly exclusively by Irish. The small towns of Blairsville, Ebensburg, Armagh, and Salem are filled with them; and on the slopes of the Alleghenies I saw that land is constantly being taken up, the trees girdled, felled, and the country cleared, though the soil is very poor. I was astonished to see that people stop here among the mountains who could find farther west a rich soil, which better remunerates their toils. But I was informed that the first settlements were founded by Irishmen only,—that this happened to be the first country they met where land was cheap on their way westwards, and that the gregarious habits of the Celtic race soon peopled the country. Americans rarely remain here; they clear the wood, patch up a log house, and sell it to those emigrants who do not like the hard work of the pioneer. . . . In every little town a yelling Irish crowd, with pipers and drummers, greeted us, and boisterously claimed a speech, protesting their sympathy for Hungary." The present writer was a lad living in Blairsville at the time, and he well remembers shivering around the old "Marker House" in that town one wintry afternoon awaiting the arrival of Kossuth, and he had the gratification of seeing the famous Magyar,—a little, swarthy, bewhiskered man in a cloak and a soft hat ornamented with a black ostrich plume.

Kossuth's party remained in Blairsville over the night of the 21st of January, and the next morning set off in sleighs that had been sent out from Pittsburgh. "We are requested by the chief marshal, General Larimer," says the *Gazette*, January 22, "to say, that *at the ringing of the bells* all the fire companies, committees, associations, delegations, and citizens intending to take part in the procession will organize themselves, and repair to the ground designated in the programme, so that the procession can be formed within *two hours* after the first ringing of the bells." Kossuth, however, did not arrive in Pittsburgh until about half-past seven o'clock in the evening. The drive from Blairsville was forty-two miles. However jubilant and expectant the good people of Pittsburgh were, Kossuth was ill and tired, and only longed to get quietly to his bed. "We happily escaped the hubbub of a great reception and procession which awaited us not far from the city; for a gentleman of the Pittsburgh committee, in compassion to our fatigues, and dreading the consequences to our health, gave out that it was not Kossuth and his party who came along in the sledges. Nevertheless, before we had reached the city, it oozed out in which carriage Kossuth was; and the horsemen and firemen, engines with their tolling bells, caught us in the very moment of our alighting at the back door of the hotel."* To the people who crowded about the St. Charles and filled the air with their shouts Kossuth spoke a few words from the balcony. He stated that he was ill and unable to ad-

* "White, Red, Black," vol. i. p. 268.

dress them at that time, thanked them for their manifestations of kindness, and hoped that after a day's rest he would be able to speak to them. When he retired, Colonel Black addressed the crowd in a very happy manner, after which the multitude dispersed.

Kossuth stayed in Pittsburgh until Saturday morning, January 31, having spent over a week in the city. It was a week long to be remembered. The people thought well of Kossuth and he fully reciprocated the feeling. "For the cause of Hungary," said the Pulszkys, "they were enthusiastic, and especially the ladies exerted themselves most nobly to give practical proof of their sympathy. Nor only under the excitement of Kossuth's speeches, but they formed and kept up a lasting association for the aid of Hungary. Even they, however, were surpassed in generosity by the workmen of the Pittsburgh Alkali-Works, who without exception handed to Kossuth a whole week's wages as their contribution for struggling liberty in Europe." The alkali-works here mentioned belonged to Bennet, Berry & Co., and were situated in East Birmingham.

There was a great outpouring of eloquence during Kossuth's stay in Pittsburgh, not only by the great Hungarian but by our local speakers. Never has the presence of any other man so thoroughly moved the hearts of the people of this city. On the eve of his departure the editor of the *Gazette* said: "No city that Governor Kossuth has yet visited has given him a more cordial, hearty, and enthusiastic reception than Pittsburgh; and in no place, probably, has he made a

more favorable impression. There has been no idle pageantry, no expensive feasting,—nothing, in short, but a plain republican hospitality, and a generous contribution of substantial aid to his cause, contributed cheerfully and gladly by all classes.”

CHAPTER XIII

STIRRING EVENTS

THE fever of excitement which immediately preceded the open outbreak of the Great Rebellion was greatly increased in Pittsburgh in the closing days of the year 1860 by an order from J. B. Floyd, Secretary of War under President Buchanan, to Major Symington, commandant at the Allegheny Arsenal, to ship immediately to points in the South a large number of pieces of ordnance. Though the South had not yet actually taken up arms, yet the people of Pittsburgh believed they saw sinister designs in this order of Floyd's, who was himself a Southern man, and they determined that the cannon in question should not be taken away. "It is not enough," exclaimed one newspaper, "that we are to be sold out to the secessionists, —the Administration would bind us hand and foot, deprive us of arms, and deliver us neck and heels to the traitors who would destroy the Union! It has already ordered one hundred and twenty-four heavy guns from our Allegheny Arsenal to the Far South,—not to defend the stars and stripes, for which our skilful mechanics made them, but to batter it down under the pirate flag of some Lone Star or Rattlesnake government. . . . Will our people submit to this? Our citizens, of all parties, as a unit, denounce the movement as treason, and have telegraphed to Washington to have the order revoked. If it is not done, we owe a duty to the nation, to the State of Pennsyl-

vania, and to ourselves, to prevent—by force, if necessary—the transfer of these munitions of war, under color of law, to the enemies of the nation.”* Mayor Wilson was requested by a card signed by a large number of most respected citizens to call a public meeting for the purpose of expressing their opinions upon the act of the War Department, and to take such action as the exigency of the case might seem to require.

It was a critical moment. Whatever his own views may have been in the matter, to Major Symington, as a soldier, there was but one course open, and that was to obey orders. The excitement soon rose to a white-heat. As the hours passed the determination to retain the cannon in Pittsburgh grew stronger. Edwin M. Stanton, afterwards Secretary of War, was at that time Buchanan’s Attorney-General, and to him a committee of the citizens of Pittsburgh applied to have the order rescinded. The meeting that had been called by the mayor was large and tumultuous. Those who had best right to be heard counselled calmness and deliberation; and as it would require eight or ten days to place the guns on the boat for removal, there was time in which matters might be arranged. This advice, though wise, was not palatable to many. “We bow with deference to the judgment of the majority,” said the newspaper already quoted, “and trust no one will raise a hand against the execution of the orders of the War Department,—although, we must confess, the action looks to us somewhat as if the three militiamen who captured André had allowed him to depart until

* *Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch*, December 25, 1860.

they could get a warrant for his arrest from a justice of the peace.”*

But while the meeting of citizens was in progress a detachment of troops started from the arsenal with a number of the guns to place them on a steamboat lying at the wharf. The feeling mounted still higher, and it was planned by some of the more hot-headed, if nothing else would serve, that some cannon should be posted on the Allegheny side of the river opposite Brunot's Island and sink the boat as she attempted to pass. The line of troops convoying the guns to the Monongahela wharf was on Wood Street, between Virgin Alley and Diamond Alley, when through the earnest representations of a number of influential citizens a halt was effected until an answer to the messages that had been sent to Washington could be received. Happily, an answer came in time. It was in effect to rescind the order of Floyd. The cannon were not sent away. If the answer had been different, there is no doubt that in the heated state of the public mind blood would have been shed and the opening act in the drama of the Civil War would have been anticipated by the Union-loving citizens of Pittsburgh.

It is not our purpose to enter into any history of the causes or the events that led up through the first three months of the year 1861 to the fall of Fort Sumter; but when the news of that event reached Pittsburgh on Monday, April 15, it found a community already wrought up to the highest pitch of patriotic ardor. A mass-meeting was at once held at the City Hall, where

* *Daily Dispatch*, December 28, 1860.

speeches were made and resolutions were enthusiastically adopted representing the present to be "a fit occasion to renew our obligations of undying fealty to that government and that Union which we have been taught to regard and revere as the palladium of our liberties at home and our honor abroad; and in their defence and support, by whomsoever assailed, we will endeavor to prove ourselves worthy sons of patriotic sires."* A Committee of Public Safety consisting of one hundred citizens was appointed, of which William Wilkins was chairman. In practical illustration of the resolutions which had just been adopted the work of enlisting men in response to the President's call was at once begun; and on the 17th of April, only two days later, the first company, the "Turner Rifles," Captain Amlung, left for Harrisburg. Within eleven days following April 14 nearly two thousand men from Allegheny County were on the tented field.

At a meeting of the Committee of Public Safety, April 19, the formation of a corps of home guards was also set on foot, to serve for home defence in case of need, and to be the "nucleus for future recruits for the public active service of the country." The Home Guards, as an organization, were to be subject to no authority except that of the Committee of Public Safety. They were to be armed and equipped from a fund contributed by the banks through the efforts of John Harper, president of the Bank of Pittsburgh. At a parade of the Home Guards on the 4th of July, 1861, under the command of General Wilkins, three thou-

* *Daily Dispatch*, April 16, 1861.

sand three hundred men were on review. This body of men answered fully to the purpose of their organization, and proved indeed the nucleus for future recruits, as from their ranks volunteered hundreds of men for service in the field. Over twenty thousand men of Allegheny County served in the cause of their country in the Great Rebellion.

Nor was the cause of the Union confined to the efforts of our soldiers in the field. In the summer of 1861 was organized a Subsistence Committee, the object of which was to provide for the immediate wants of soldiers passing through the city. It was an entirely voluntary association, both as to personal service and contributions of funds. The service was mostly performed by ladies; and from first to last no fewer than four hundred and seventy thousand soldiers were fed by the people of Pittsburgh. Besides this, about eighty thousand sick and wounded soldiers were cared for at the Soldiers' Home. Among these recipients of the bounty and tender care of Pittsburgh were many Confederate prisoners. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink."

Many of the men whose patriotism led them to offer their lives if need be on the altar of their country were poor in worldly goods, and their families, in their absence, were left without resources. This was an additional appeal to the great heart of the loyal city, and a Relief Committee was formed almost as soon as the volunteering began. This committee was organized as a subsidiary branch of the Committee of Public Safety, and only two months after the first

company had departed for the scene of strife seven hundred and fifty families were on the roll of those needing assistance. Besides large donations of food and clothing, over twenty-four thousand dollars was voluntarily contributed by citizens to this end. By the Legislature in the following winter a tax for this purpose was authorized, and the work of distribution of aid was assumed by the county commissioners, and over one hundred thousand dollars was paid out by them. As another means of raising money for patriotic uses was the great Sanitary Fair. It was opened June 1, 1864, was patronized by tens of thousands, and produced over three hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred dollars. This, it has been said, was equal to three dollars and forty-seven cents for each man, woman, and child in the two cities,—a record of practical benevolence and patriotism unequalled by any community.

An episode of this period in the history of Pittsburgh was the threatened invasion by the Confederates in June, 1863. General Lee, after his great success at Chancellorsville in May, determined to carry the war into the country of his enemy. Pittsburgh was regarded by the authorities at Washington as an important strategical point, and when it became apparent that Lee was about to direct his march into Pennsylvania, great apprehensions were felt for the safety of Pittsburgh. On the 11th of June Major-General Brooks arrived to take command of the Department of the Monongahela. He at once called a meeting of prominent citizens to consult upon the best measures

for the defence of the city. It was determined to close the workshops and employ the men in throwing up earthworks and fortifications around the city. Government engineers were sent on to take charge of the work. More than fifteen thousand men were at times employed upon this labor. Many miles of earthworks were constructed, some traces of which still remain. Lee's forces had crossed the Pennsylvania border, and the danger to Pittsburgh was imminent. We may say that her safety depended wholly upon the result of a single contest. On the 15th of June Governor Curtin telegraphed from Harrisburg that the enemy was advancing in three columns,—one towards Waynesboro' and Gettysburg, one direct to Chambersburg, and one towards Mercersburg and Cove Mountain. Fortunately for Pittsburgh, Cemetery Hill at Gettysburg was the rock upon which the advancing tide broke and was dissipated. The loyalty of Allegheny County was conspicuous throughout the war. Hundreds of her gallant sons fell upon the field of battle or perished in the prison-pens of the South,—among them Colonel Samuel W. Black, General Alexander Hay, and Colonel C. F. Jackson. "To narrate all of the many incidents of personal sacrifice and individual labors of men and women of Allegheny County during the war for the preservation of the Union would in themselves fill a volume of many pages. . . . Whatever differences of opinion on the conduct of the war might have existed, when the echoes of the guns at Sumter startled the Nation, long before the rebel troops had invaded

the soil of Pennsylvania, the citizens of Allegheny County were a unit.”*

In July, 1877, occurred the most serious outbreak against public order that had ever disturbed the peace of Pittsburgh. A good deal of dissatisfaction on the part of certain classes of employees on the Pennsylvania Railroad had sprung up, owing mainly to a reduction of wages and some regulations in regard to trains that had recently been ordered. Similar discontent existed on some other railroads at the same time, and the feelings of the men were heightened by certain injudicious and inflammatory articles in some of the newspapers. A sentiment decidedly hostile to the railroads seems to have spread over the country generally. There was a sense of trouble and unrest in the air.

At length on Thursday morning, July 19, a number of freight conductors and brakemen refused to go out with their trains. Other crews when summoned to take the places of the recalcitrants refused to go out. There was no regularly organized strike on hand, but an understanding among the men concerned to hold up the trains until some concession or compromise could be made in the matters complained of. No violence or mischief was contemplated by the strikers. The passenger trains were not interfered with.

As the news of the trouble at the Union Depot circulated crowds of people congregated at that point, mostly the idle and vicious elements of the two cities,—curiosity on the part of some had led them, and the

* Thurston's "Allegheny County's Hundred Years," p. 81.

hope of some gain and the love of excitement had brought others. Repeated attempts were made from time to time by the railroad officers to send out trains, but the trains were boarded by the mob, the engine reversed, and the trains detained.* The railroad officials appealed to Mayor McCarthy for assistance, and the latter promptly set off in person with a detail of fifteen policemen for the scene of disorder. He could do little, however, as the vast assemblage only defied and derided his authority. A feeling of bitterness towards the railroad company was manifest even among those who had no personal interest in the struggle. The property of the company had been taken possession of by the mob, and the business of the railroad was completely stopped. A man that had assaulted one of the railroad officers who had attempted to turn a switch was arrested by the police, who, with considerable trouble, had taken him to the Twelfth Ward station-house. This angered the mob, and a large crowd collected in front of the station-house with loud threats of breaking into the place and rescuing the prisoner. Nothing, however, came of these threats. The original strikers, who were comparatively few in number and pacific in their intentions, had been entirely lost sight of in the disorderly multitude that now swarmed about the railroad and terrorized the city. As the mayor was not able to do anything, the officials of the railroad appealed to Sheriff Fife, who, at midnight, with a large posse, proceeded to the company's round-house at Twenty-eighth Street, where a great

* *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, July 20, 1877.

crowd had collected, and ordered them to disperse. But his authority was as little regarded as had been that of the mayor, while many of his posse abandoned him and joined the mob.

The sheriff thus finding himself powerless sought the aid of the military, and by order of General Pearson the Eighteenth Regiment of the National Guards of Pennsylvania marched to the scene of trouble in the early morning of Friday. These troops were stationed mainly in the yard at the Union Depot and on the slope of the hill just above. The mob cared little for the soldiers, who, they believed, would very unwillingly fire into a mass of their friends and neighbors. At the East Liberty stock-yards on Friday afternoon General Pearson addressed a large body of the rioters, and stated that freight trains would be sent through that day; that he intended to accompany the first of these trains, and that the military would not use blank cartridges, if compelled to use any. Sixty or seventy members of the Eighteenth Regiment were present under command of Colonel Guthrie; but the mob showed no fear of them. The rioters replied to General Pearson that they would be heard from too, and that no blanks would be fired by them.* But no freight trains went through on Friday.

It was doubtful wisdom to appeal to the military arm at all at this stage of the affair, as the full authority and power of the peace officers had not been nearly exerted, and the presence of the soldiers only added fuel to the flame. But a worse blunder was in

* *Commercial Gazette*, July 21, 1877.

telegraphing to the governor for additional aid. General Brinton was ordered to proceed immediately to Pittsburgh with a division of Philadelphia troops. The arrival of these men on Saturday afternoon completely exasperated the mob. The Philadelphians were marched to the round-house at Twenty-eighth Street and ordered to clear the property of the railroad company. This they attempted to do, perhaps more rudely than was necessary, when the rioters resisted them and stones were thrown at the soldiers. In the excitement some one wholly unauthorized gave the order to fire, and a volley was poured into the mob. It was about five o'clock in the afternoon. A number of persons were killed by this fire. Volleys were also discharged among the spectators on the hill-side where the Fourteenth and Nineteenth Regiments were stationed, and several persons were killed and wounded. It was a frightful disaster. Instead of overawing or dispersing the mob, the latter, inflamed with rage, closed in upon the troops and obliged them to seek shelter in the round-house. The mob then determined to burn them out, and for this purpose cars loaded with petroleum and other combustible materials were run down the tracks to the round-house. A cannon belonging to Hutchinson's Battery had been left behind when the troops retired, and this was now brought up by the mob and directed against the building. General Brinton appeared at one of the windows and appealed to the mob to desist, otherwise he would open fire upon them. They paid no regard to his threats. He then ordered a party of his soldiers to fire upon the men

who were using the cannon, and several of them were killed and wounded. This put a slight check upon the rioters, though they continued the siege of the round-house. This was Saturday afternoon. The Philadelphia troops remained in the building until Sunday morning, when they retreated to Claremont, beyond the city limits, where they remained until ordered to return to Philadelphia. Such was the course of events at Twenty-eighth Street.

Through Saturday night and Sunday anarchy prevailed in the city. Gun stores were broken into and rifled of arms and ammunition. The banks were threatened. Incendiarism was added to the terrors of the hour. The round-house, the Union Depot, the grain-elevator at the corner of Washington and Liberty Streets, the Adams Express building, and the Panhandle Depot were set on fire and burned. A number of private dwellings were also consumed. The firemen, who were hastening to extinguish the flames, were met by the mob and compelled to go back. Hundreds of cars were robbed of their contents and burned. It seemed on that Sunday morning that Pandemonium had broken loose.

At four o'clock, Sunday afternoon, at a meeting of citizens the mayor was authorized to enroll five hundred police; yet such was the state of demoralization that prevailed that the ranks of the additional police filled up but slowly. Governor Hartranft came to the city and used the influence of his high position to quiet the disturbance, and a little later a large body of troops went into camp at East Liberty. On Monday morning

a Committee of Public Safety, of which William G. Johnston was chairman, and a Vigilance Committee, under General Negley and Major Swearingen, were formed. Vigorous measures began to be used, and gradually order again emerged from chaos. Twenty-five persons had been killed and fifty-three wounded, among them a number of the soldiers.

There remained the bill to pay. Besides other property of the railroad company that had been burned, thirteen hundred and eighty-three freight cars, one hundred and four locomotives, and sixty-six passenger cars had been destroyed. A vast quantity of goods had been burned or stolen. Claims for damages to the amount of two million seven hundred and seventy-two thousand three hundred and forty-nine dollars and fifty-three cents were paid by the tax-payers of Allegheny County, of which sum the Pennsylvania Railroad received one million six hundred thousand dollars.

"We realize for the first time in our history," says a writer of that day, "what mob rule and mob law are, and that when once we pass the line that divides the law-breaker from the faithful citizen, how fearfully rapid is the descent to scenes of the most brutalizing and inhuman character. . . . How the scenes of the last few days must burn into our minds the lesson that all sympathy with lawlessness, however alluring its sophistries, is the sure and certain road to destruction. A redress of grievances can never be reached by weakening the bonds that hold society together."*

* *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, July 23, 1877.

CHAPTER XIV

CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS

THE first public exercise of religion in Pittsburgh we have reason to believe was conducted by the Rev. Denys Baron, chaplain to the French garrison at Fort Duquesne. He appears to have served there from midsummer of the year 1753 until the early part of the year 1757. He was a Recollect priest of the order of St. Francis.

On the day following the occupation of Fort Duquesne by the English the Rev. Charles Beatty, as we have already seen, preached upon the ruins of the abandoned fort,—in all probability the first sermon delivered by a Protestant minister west of the mountains. It is quite possible that during the early days of Fort Pitt some kind of religious services were had, though we have no record of it. When the Rev. Messrs. Beatty and Duffield came to Fort Pitt in 1766, they found a chaplain there, the Rev. Mr. McLagan. There was no church edifice on the spot. Much later than this, in 1783, John Wilkins observed that there was no appearance of morality, order, or any signs of religion among the people of Pittsburgh, and the next year Arthur Lee found no church or clergyman in the place. But in the fifth number of the *Gazette*, August 26, 1786, a writer remarks that a minister of the Calvinist Church was then settled in the town, and that a church edifice of squared logs was in course of building. This was no doubt the German Evan-

gelical Protestant Church which stood at the corner of Diamond and Wood Streets, of which the Rev. Wilhelm Weber was the first pastor. This was the earliest permanent church organization west of the Alleghenies. In June, 1788, the Penns donated the property at the corner of Smithfield Street and Sixth Avenue to this congregation. The handsome edifice now standing there represents this early church.

Good Mr. Beatty hoped that the visit of himself and his companion, Mr. Duffield, had been productive of beneficial effect upon the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, for certainly they needed it. Yet long afterwards we find the author of the "Diary of a Journey" remarking upon the singular impiety that characterized a large portion of the people of Pittsburgh. Especially was he shocked by the common use of profane language. "Crossing the Monongahela in the ferry-boat," he says, "with an intelligent gentleman of polished manners, I was shocked and surprised to hear almost every sentence from his lips interlarded with an oath or an imprecation; yet he was in gay good humor, and, I believe, unconscious of this breach of decorum."

Occasional services continued to be held in the town by Presbyterian ministers; but in 1785 the Rev. Samuel Barr, an Irishman by birth, became the first stated minister of that denomination in Pittsburgh. He continued to serve this congregation until June, 1789, when he requested of Presbytery a dissolution of his pastoral relation, because, among other reasons, he was expected to collect his salary himself from door to door. During his incumbency he was often in hot

water, and he appears frequently among the controversialists in the columns of the old *Gazette*. September 24, 1787, the Penns deeded to this congregation two and a half lots of ground, on which a building of squared logs and of moderate dimensions was erected. In 1804 a more commodious structure was built. Of this church, now the First Presbyterian, the Rev. Francis Herron served as pastor from 1811 to 1860.

On the same day that the Penns donated the property above mentioned to the Presbyterian congregation at Pittsburgh they also deeded to the Protestant Episcopal Church two and a half lots of ground. General John Gibson, John Ormsby, Devereux Smith, and Dr. Nathaniel Bedford were the trustees named in the deed. The two and a half lots adjoined the property that was granted to the Presbyterians. No church building was erected by the Episcopalians for several years afterwards, and then they built, not on the ground donated by the Penns, but upon the triangular lot bounded by Liberty and Sixth Avenues and Wood Street. For this piece of ground the congregation paid four hundred dollars. The corner-stone of the church was laid July 1, 1805. The property deeded to them by the Penns had been used, however, as a burying-ground. The church built on the triangular lot was a small brick building of eight sides, and known as the "Round Church." It stood until the year 1825, and was the original Trinity Church of Pittsburgh. The first church built by the Presbyterians and the old Round Church were both erected in part by the pro-

ceeds of lotteries that were held for the purpose. Prior to building the church Episcopal services had been held in private dwellings, public halls, and the courtroom.*

The first rector of Trinity was the Rev. John Taylor, who came to Pittsburgh in 1797. He was not either an Episcopalian or a minister when he first arrived,—perhaps a teacher, and he long continued that employment in connection with his pastoral duties. He was a fine scholar, especially in the line of astronomy and mathematics, and for many years he made the calculations for Cramer's and other Pittsburgh almanacs. He was an earnest, simple, good man, and served old Trinity for twenty years. He was killed by lightning at Shennango in the year 1838. Of the rectors of Trinity Church four have been elevated to the episcopate,—John Henry Hopkins, George Upfold, Theodore B. Lyman, and John Scarborough. The diocese of Pittsburgh was organized in 1866, and the Rev. John B. Kerfoot, LL.D., was elected the first bishop. He died in the year 1881.

The Methodist itinerant found his way to the village of Pittsburgh at an early date, though no regular service was established here until near the close of the century. In 1788 the Pittsburgh district was formed, and Rev. Charles Conway was appointed the preacher. He rode the circuit, which embraced Westmoreland and Allegheny Counties and parts of Fayette and

* Read "Old Round Church," by Oliver Ormsby Page, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October, 1895.

Washington, from 1788 to 1790, preaching occasionally in Pittsburgh. A few years before this period John Wilkins expressed the opinion that "Presbyterian ministers were afraid to come to the town, lest they should be mocked and misused." Nothing of that kind had any terrors for the early Methodist preacher. The more Satan lifted up himself the more the itinerant raised himself up to smite him. To such sons of thunder as Lorenzo Dow, Peter Cartwright, Valentine Cook, and Asa Shinn the rage or the mockery of man was as idle as the summer breeze. In the early years of their ministry here the Methodists had no church edifice, but held their services in the open air or in private dwellings, and sometimes, we are informed, "in a room of old Fort Pitt,"—by which no doubt was meant Bouquet's block-house, which is still standing. To John Wrenshall, a merchant of Pittsburgh, who was also a Wesleyan local preacher, is accorded the distinction of organizing, in 1796, the first Methodist society in the town.

The Pittsburgh Conference was formed in the year 1825, comprehending all the appointments in two large districts, the Erie and the Ohio. "A renowned ecclesiastical body," says Stevens, "was this 'old Pittsburgh Conference' to become; thronged with notable men, constituting the chief northern stronghold of Methodism between the East and the West."* The humble society founded by Wrenshall has developed

* "History of American Methodism." By Abel Stevens, LL.D. P. 470.

into a membership second only in numbers among the Protestant denominations in this community.

The Roman Catholics, though first on the ground, were fifth in order in making a permanent lodgement here. Priests of that faith going to and fro ministered to the small number of Catholics in Pittsburgh for many years. Among these priests the most noted was the Rev. J. B. Flaget, afterwards bishop of Bardstown, Kentucky. He came to Pittsburgh in the early summer of the year 1792, on his way to the West. Here he was detained by low water for nearly six months, during which time, oddly enough, he boarded in the family of a French Huguenot and read mass every day to a handful of Catholics in this man's house. "This circumstance would argue the small number of the Catholics at that time and their poverty; for a priest would hardly stop with Protestants if there was any of his own faith in a condition to afford him accommodations."* The first resident priest was the Rev. W. F. X. O'Brien. He arrived in the fall of the year 1802. In the same year the first Catholic church in Pittsburgh was begun. The building stood on a lot at the corner of Liberty Avenue and Washington Street. The ground had been donated by Colonel James O'Hara. The building was a plain brick structure, perhaps not more than thirty feet by fifty feet. It was dedicated by the Right Rev. Michael Egan, on his first visit as bishop, in August, 1811. It was known as St. Patrick's Church. The corner-stone of St. Paul's Cathedral, but not the present building, was laid

* "Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania," July, 1884.

on June 24, 1829, under the auspices of the Rev. Charles B. Maguire, one of the most distinguished of the Catholic clergymen of Pittsburgh. In 1843 the See of Pittsburgh was erected, and the Rev. Michael O'Connor was appointed bishop. The handful of Catholics that Father Flaget found here has grown into a membership of more than one hundred thousand souls.

In the wake of these pioneer churches have followed scores of congregations and many sects of all names and of all varieties and shades of belief and practice.

We have seen the beginnings of educational activity here in the modest announcement of Mrs. Pride and the chartering of the Pittsburgh Academy. Other teachers and schools soon entered the same field. The Academy under its charter was promptly got under way. Frequent meetings of the board of trustees were called by the secretary. On the 10th of September, 1787, the Legislature made a grant of five thousand acres of public lands for the benefit of the Academy; but by the neglect of the trustees nothing was ever realized from it.* From the list of trustees one would have augured better things. Their immediate successors in office seem to have been no better; for Ashe remarks that in his time, 1806, the trustees employed themselves so much in altercation whenever they met, that they had not had time to come to any understanding on the concerns of the school. The first term of the Academy began April 13, 1789. The first princi-

* Superintendent George J. Luckey, in "Pennsylvania School Report," 1877, p. 772.

pal was George Welch. The curriculum embraced the "Learned Languages, English, and the Mathematics."* In March, 1798, the Legislature appropriated the sum of five thousand dollars to the Academy, on condition that ten pupils should annually receive free instruction.

At the beginning of the century the Academy was taught by James Mountain, formerly principal of the Canonsburg Academy, and the Rev. John Taylor, the Episcopal minister. Mr. Mountain had charge of the classical department and Mr. Taylor of the mathematical. The former may have continued for some time in the Academy; but Mr. Taylor, in 1806, was engaged in a private school for young ladies. "His course of study," says Ashe, "is very liberal, philosophical, and extensive. Some of his scholars compose with great elegance, and read and speak with precision and grace." There were several other private schools in the town at that time, where "a sound English education" might be acquired.

Ashe, however, could not make so good a report of the Academy. "There is but one school of a public nature," he says, "which is called an academy, and supported by the voluntary munificence of the place. . . . There is a master appointed who instructs about twenty boys in a sort of transatlantic Greek and Latin, something in the nature of what the French call *patois*, but which serves the purpose of the pupils as well as if their teacher were a disciple of Demosthenes or Cicero." Mr. Ashe at the best was not very scrupulous in regard to the truth, and in this case some per-

* *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 11, 1789.

sonal feeling may have entered; for Zadok Cramer informs us that Ashe, or Arvil, as he called himself, desired to get up a school in the town but failed.

Among the early principals of the Pittsburgh Academy the most distinguished was the Rev. Joseph Stockton. He became principal in the year 1809. For the preceding nine years he had been principal of the academy at Meadville, where also he had at the same time been pastor of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Stockton became widely known and is best remembered because of the text-books, "The Western Spelling Book" and "The Western Calculator," which he brought out while connected with the Pittsburgh Academy. They were very meritorious works and met a large demand through the Western country. He died of cholera in Baltimore in the year 1832. His name is preserved in that of Stockton Avenue in Allegheny. "His success as an educator," says Judge Parke, "was well known. The author's recollection and observation enable him to state that his happy methods of inspiring his pupils with his own amiable manner was his highest recommendation as a teacher."*

In the year 1819 the Pittsburgh Academy was merged under a new charter with the Western University of Pennsylvania. The first faculty of the University was quite cosmopolitan in its religious make-up: Dr. Robert Bruce, Principal, was of the Associate Church, Rev. John Black, Professor of Ancient Lan-

*"Historical Gleanings of Allegheny." By Judge John E. Parke. P. 262.

guages, of the Reformed, Rev. E. P. Swift, Professor of Moral Science, of the Presbyterian, Rev. Joseph McElroy, Professor of Rhetoric, of the Associate Reformed, and Rev. Charles B. Maguire, Professor of Modern Languages, of the Roman Catholic Church. The board of trustees formally organized under the charter in 1822, and opened the first term in the old Academy building at the corner of Third Avenue and Cherry Alley. At a later date a university building was erected on Third Avenue. This building was destroyed in the great fire of 1845. Another building was then erected on Duquesne Way, but it was burned in 1849. This second calamity almost disheartened the friends of the University; but in 1854 a lot was secured at the corner of Ross and Diamond Streets and a building was erected which was used until the year 1882, when it was sold to the county for a temporary court-house pending the building of the present court-house, and the University was transferred to Observatory Hill in Allegheny, where it remains.

The primitive teachers and schools of Pittsburgh were like those which prevailed generally at the time. The teachers were frequently widows and elderly spinsters, or men down at the heel,—often Irishmen of questionable habits, strolling Yankees out of a job, or young men preparing themselves for the higher professions. Many of the teachers, however, were persons of education and excellent character.

In 1834 a free school law was passed by the Legislature, which placed the schools of Pennsylvania on a better footing than the old "pauper school" law that

had previously existed. Under this law school directors were elected as now, and applicants for schools were required to be examined. But no examining officer was designated; and the examinations being held at the instance of the school board by a preacher, a lawyer, a doctor, a justice of the peace, or any other learned man that happened to be at hand, and as he received no pay for his services, was not a sworn officer, likely knew nothing about the proper qualifications of a teacher, and perhaps had little interest in the school, the examinations were generally farcical in the extreme. Under this system the schools were little better than formerly.

The first public school opened in Pittsburgh under the law of 1834 was in the North Ward, now the Fourth Ward, in a building that stood at the lower corner of Irwin Street, now Seventh Street, and Duquesne Way. The school opened with only five pupils. The teacher was Mr. George F. Gilmore, afterwards a well-known member of the Allegheny County bar. The North Ward was followed within a very short time by the South Ward, now the Second Ward. In September, 1855, the Pittsburgh High School was opened with one hundred and fourteen pupils and five members of the faculty. The Rev. Jacob L. McKown was elected the first principal of the High School.

No great improvement was made in the public schools before the year 1854, when the county superintendency was established. The first superintendent of Allegheny County was Mr. James M. Pryor. Originally the county superintendent had jurisdiction over

the cities and towns within the county; but by an act of the Legislature in 1867 cities and towns of not less than ten thousand inhabitants were authorized to elect superintendents for themselves. Under this law Mr. George J. Luckey was elected in May, 1868, the first city superintendent of Pittsburgh, in which office he served continuously until June, 1899.

Thus have we endeavored to give an outline of the educational system of Pittsburgh. It has been no part of our purpose to speak of the various educational establishments of the city, of which there are many, and most of them excellent. A few words in conclusion: For the year ending with June, 1899, the enrollment of the High School was eighteen hundred and fifty, and the faculty numbered sixty-three. In the sixty-five years that have passed, the little company of five pupils that gathered in the old North School has increased to an army of over forty-five thousand; and instead of the solitary dilapidated building at the corner of Irwin Street and Duquesne Way, the public school property of the city is estimated at nearly four millions of dollars.

THE END

